



***CASTEISM IN INDIAN POLITICS: THE ROLE OF
B. R. AMBEDKAR***

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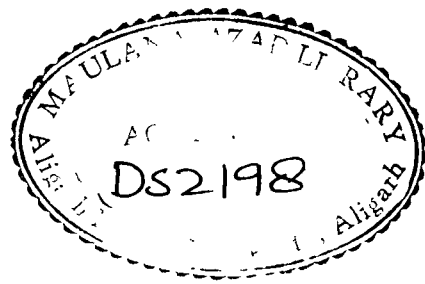
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"DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF BOTH MY GRAND FATHER,
LATE SHRI FAGUN DAS AND FUFA JI LATE SHRI SUGAN SWARUP"

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C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the dissertation
entitled "CASTEISM IN INDIAN POLITICS: THE ROLE OF
B.R. AMBEDKAR" is an original work of Mr. Prem Prakash
and is in its present form fit, for being submitted
for the award of the degree of the Master of Philosophy
(M.Phil) in Political Science.



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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Indian Politics has always been a caste ridden politics. In the past, there existed no such department in India, where caste as a political, social, economic educational and cultural factor was not present. Even today, The caste factor is dominant in every sphere of the life of the people of the country.

Before the commencement of Ambedker's Era, there were the untouchable, Hindus in India, who due to Hindu social system, had, from time immemorial remained socially degenerated, economically impoverished, politically suppressed, religiously ostracized and indefinitely excluded from educational and cultural opportunities. They were condemned to the lot of serfs and deprived of all human rights.

Right from 1885, there was none to look after the political interests of the millions of the untouchables. Their existance was , neglected not only by the British Government but also by the emerging political forces up to the year 1915. The untouchables had no place either in the political strategies of the congress or the Muslim league. The growth of the political awakening and activism, in fact, did not recognise the problem

of 'social segregation' of the untouchables.¹ They were not in political picture at all. They had no chance of bettering their conditions and so they lived the life of a by gone and dead age, dragging on their miserable existance in insufficient accomodation, insanitary surroundings and social segregation. Dr. B.R. Ambedker emerged from amongst such downtrodden classes to revolt against such ages old social order.

The national movement which rested on the historical process since 1886, from the point of political recognition of the untouchables falls under two categories: first, a span of thirty years (1886-1915) marked by their non-recognition in Indian politics and second, a period of next thirty years (1917-1947), when they were not only politically recognised by the government and political parties but also a lot of work was undertaken for their emancipation during the national movement. The 1916 was a link year of these two long spans when merely an-attention was drawn towards their pitiable conditions in socio-religious field. The year 1917, the first year of the second span was an important landmark in the social and political history of the untouchables in India. Hence forth they were on the political horizon of the national movement.

1. Borale, P.T., Segregation and Desegregation in India, Manaktalas (Bombay), 1968.

It was Bhimrao Ramji Ambedker (1891-1956) among Indian leaders who took up the cause of untouchables whole heartedly. He did so with a deep sense of duty and devotion, unmindful of what one might think of him during or after the national movement for independence was over in India. He played a very significant part at a crucial period in the history of this country and offered solution to the several ticklish problems India was confronted with during the struggle for political reforms. With a passionate zeal and relentless fight he hammered out constitutional provisions for the upliftment of the depressed classes.

The Congress, the Muslim league and the Hindu Maha Sabha, linked their political aspirations with their culture and religion. Tilak wanted that the various sections of the Hindus should unite themselves into a mighty 'Hindu nation'². He declared that "Indian nationalism could not be purely secular it must be based on Hindu orthodoxy".³ Aurobindo Ghose went a step ahead and declared : "Independence is the goal of life and Hinduism alone will fulfil this aspiration of ours".⁴ The

2. Verma, V.P. , Modern Indian Political Thought, Laxmi Narain (Agra), 1971 p.167.

3. Ibid p.171.

4. Mahajan, V.D., Fifty Years of Modern India, S.Chand (New Delhi), 1970, pp.135-136.

emergence of the communalism might be attributed "to the role of Hindu revivalists.... the patriotic and nationalist fervour of Tilak, Pal, Lajpat Rai and the Ghose brothers, was based on Hindu ideology"⁵ it was this religious approach to the nationalist movement which proved disastrous to the unity of the country. It ignored not only the larger interest of the depressed classes but also antagonised the Muslims. Ambedker, however, viewed the national movement in his own way. He saw in it a ray of hope for the political advancement and social freedom of the untouchables. He linked nationalism with the social and political aspirations of the untouchables. Hence Ambedker's approach represented a dynamic fusion of two powerful trends- the revolt advocating the untouchables 'political claims and the effort preserving the unity with the national mainstream during the freedom struggle.

Dr. B.R. Ambedker was an acclaimed intellectual and moral leader of the suppressed community as a whole. In his advocacy, there was a real correlation between social equality and political independence, Firstly,

5. Ahluwalia, M.M., Freedom struggle in India, Ranjit (Delhi), 1965, p. 366.

he was determined to elevate 60 million untouchables, from the state of slavery to manhood. Secondly, he resolved to build up a socio-political system in the country based on liberty, equality and fraternity. His role in the national movement was that of a messiah for the suppressed humanity : the untouchable Hindus, that of a revolutionary for the conservative Hindu community, and that of a dynamite for the British imperialism in India. He loved India from the core of his heart and dedicated his life to securing for her political freedom from British domination. At the same time he loved the most degraded people no less dearly and his fight for India's Independence was a fight on their behalf. It was a struggle against oppression and exploitation of one community by another. Ambedker, like a lightning wave, petrified the British rulers by accusing them of betrayal of the cause of the downtrodden classes in particular and the country as whole. He warned the Britishers on the soil of their own country that "the time when you were to choose and India was to accept is gone, never to return".⁶ Thus Ambedker was a true and fearless nationalist from the core of his heart.

6. The R.T.C.-First Session : dated 12.11.1930-19.1.1931, proceedings, pp.123-129.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's role in the Indian politics of casteism was very significant in the history of our country. It can be examined by knowing his achievements for the dehumanised untouchable in particular, and for the country as a whole. He had before him the aim of social deliverance, political safeguards and human rights for the untouchables. He wanted to secure for them political, social and economic justice with equality, liberty and fraternity as the principles of life. He had come to the conclusion that the constitutional safeguards were necessary to protect them from the oppression of caste and untouchability in the Indian society. He got the rights, though not as completely he wished, of scheduled castes embodied in the constitution of Free India. Thus, his role was the role of liberator and savior on the one hand, and on the other, he sought to build up a democratic, socialist, secular, nationalist, humanist socio-political system in the country based on equity, liberty and fraternity. He wanted democracy to be present in all domains of life - political, social and economic. Fundamental rights, Directive principles of state policy, and reservation in the Lok Sabha and legislature Assemblies, as well as in services were his greatest achievements.

The removal of untouchability and all disabilities from which the Depressed Classes suffered so long, formed the foundation of Ambedker's movement. From the year 1919 onwards, Ambedker fought for a social change which meant for him a discernible significant alteration in the structure and functioning of the Hindu Social system. The Hindu reformers preached spiritual unity ; but to remove the appalling misery of the Depressed Classes in empirical world was beyond their means. The main planks in Ambedker's movement, however, were upsurge for social equality and revolt against Hindu Tyranny and injustice. His pursuit of an independent social and political policy unmistakably annoyed a number of congress and Hindu Leaders during the national movement.

The Political structure in India , According to Ambedker, rested on the social structure which was the caste system based on graded inequality. This was an outcome of the Hindu civilization and culture which created such a society which had untouchables, unapproachables and unshadowables. This social system was defended by the so called caste Hindus in the name of religion, as an integral part of the Hindu religion. Therefore, Ambedker said, "at the root of Hindu social system, lies Dharma as prescribed

in the Manusmriti. Such being the case I do not think that it is possible to abolish inequality in Hindu society unless the existing foundation of the Smriti-religion is removed and a better one laid in its place.⁷ According to him, traditional Hindu books had a political tendency.⁸ From the point of views of effects of social system on politics, he examined the nature of Hindu social system and traced the origin of castes, Shudras, and of untouchables. He found that the Shudras and untouchables were the outcome of political and social struggles for supermacy between Brahmins and Kschatriyas, and Brahmanism and Buddhism respectively. His deep-rooted study of Hindu social structure reveals its very nature which has influenced politics as a whole.

It was Dr. Ambedker who, in a vary systematic way, questioned the authority of Hindu religions scriptures. He ruthlessly attacked the caste-system, varnasharam Dharma which preached hatred and contempt for groups of human beings. It shook the equilibrium of the Hindu society. His out-burst against the Hindu orthodoxy had to face the wrath of the privileged class. His stuggle for human equality aroused bitter protests by the caste Hindu leaders. From the congress plateform. Gandhi himself raised an alarm,"

7. The Times of India, Nov. 30., 1935.

8. Ambedker B.R., What Congress and Gandhi, op.cit.

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"Dr. Ambedker is a challenge to Hinduism " on being asked by Ambedker, Gandhi said,I believe varnashram to be an integral part of Hinduism"⁹ Before 1932, Gandhi was not in favour of temple entry of the untouchables and was also against inter-dining. According to Ambedker, in deed, what the British imperialism was to Indians, ^{Hindu} Imperialism was to the untouchables, His movement was for perpetual war against any injustice and imperialism in any part of human society whether in India or else where. He also said "that although we are today riven by sects and atomised by castes' our ideal is united India". Ambedker was a bitter critic of the Hindu social imperialism as well as British political imperialism . He was a towering figure, of an astonishingly uncanny for-sight. He wanted the untouchables to be considered as a 'seperate entity', distinct from Hindu community. According to Ambedker, the untouchables were socially segregated, Gandhi and his congress were hostile to Ambedkar's idea and were not ready to accept the political identification of untouchables as seperate from Hindu community. Ambedker, therefore, criticised the role of Gandhi and his congress for not giving the Depressed Classes. Their due All the upper caste forces representing vested interests gathered together to give a crushing defeat to

9. The Harijan : 20th February 1933.

Ambedker. The Hindu Leaders became his strongest critics. The Indian press, mostly that of the congress party, condemned him. It bitterly criticised, rebuked and reviled him for every thing he did and mis-reported, misrepresented and perverted all that he said. The British Government was also indifferent, though not apparently hostile, to the problems which Ambedker was fighting to solve. Dr. Ambedker noticed that British Government was very careful not to antagonise the caste Hindus and it always side-tracked the issues of the Depressed Classes as far as possible. Besides, the upper stratum of Government officials in India, composed of Hindus and Muslims, was also indifferent to their woes and hostile to their claims. Gandhiji obstructed the way of Ambedker's movement for welfare of the down-todden classes. By his fast unto death, which resulted in the poona pact, he succeeded in practically disfranchising untouchables completely.

In fact the policy of Gandhi and other Congress leaders was aimed at making Ambedker and the depressed classes to be subservient to them so that they could be used to the advantage of the Congress interests in the fight against the British Government. For Ambedker, the congress's declaration of 'fight for freedom' or 'Quit India'

was really a desire for political power to be grabbed as soon as possible by the upper castes. About this decisive role of the congress leaders, he said " whatever may be its title it is beyond question that the congress is a body of middle class Hindus supported by the Hindu capitalists whose object is not to make Indians free but to be independent of British control and to occupy places of power now occupied by the British." ¹⁰

However, the Gandhian offensive against Ambedker and his movement did not succeed in entinguishing the Independent spirit and approach of the entire depressed classes. But Gandhi found a new technique of playing untouchables against untouchables. He and other congress startwarts brought Jagjivan Ram at the Congress platform as the "Congress answer to Ambedker". Jagjivan Ram put his fate in the hand of Gandhi, Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Nehru. He started opposing Ambedker during the national movement. The Congress Harijans' were called nationalist while Ambedker and his followers were called anti-national.

Gandhi and the congress leader did every thing to defeat Ambedker in the elections to the constituent Assembly.

10. Ambedker B.R. States and Minorities, Thacker (Bombay) 1947

Patel claimed that he had locked every door of the constituent Assembly so that, Ambedker could not enter it.¹¹ On the question of the inclusion of certain provisions relating to reservation for SC & ST in the constitution of free India, Ambedker was strongly opposed by Nehru, Patel, S.P. Mukharjee etc. Only when Ambedker decided to walkout from the C.A. Then did they agree to accept these provisions to a certain extent.¹²

More than any other man in India, Ambedker gave new directions to the national cause by fighting on many fronts: social, economic, Political, educational, religious and cultural. He had an ideology towards which he wanted to take the country during the national movement. He wanted to establish such a state of society in this country in which every man would have equal value in all domains of life-political, social and economic. He wanted political, social and economic democracy to be established in India. For him, the democracy was a way of life. The fundamental elements of his concepts of democracy, in short, were liberty, equality, fraternity, reason, human experience, the rule of law, natural rights and an emphasis on the Individual in social

11. Sanpla, B.R., 'Ambedker Jayanti Par Ham Ambedker Mission Ko Kaise Ujjwal Karei, (Hindi) Amar Jyoti Printing Press, Jalandhar (Punjab.). 1987.

12. Ibid.

relationship. As regards the effect of caste-system on Indian democracy he was of the opinion that democracy and caste can never go hand in hand. He therefore, wanted the abolition of caste-system which, according to him, was only possible by rejecting the Hindu religious books giving sanctity to it. But finally our constitution abolished untouchability but not the caste-system. Ambedker analysed the evil effects of casteism on elections and proved that the untouchables were completely disfranchised by the joint electorate. He therefore, said on 30 Sept. 1956. That in place of present election system with reservation, proportional Representation and commulative voting system should be introduced. Minorities cannot send their true representatives till it is done. Ambedker Always stressed on the proper representation of untouchables in the cabinet. He criticized the congress policy of avoiding the proper representation of minorities.

While building an independent political struggle under the leadership of Ambedker, the Depressed classes developed a sense of self help and self-reliance. At the same time they also developed a spirit of mutual accommodation and co-operation with other communities on the principles of equality, and liberty for mutual benefit. Ambedker's struggle had borne good fruits and, as a result, the Depressed Classes now have an independent place and prestige in the mainstream of national life. He enthusiastically

enabled the people to extricate themselves from all sorts of subjugation and lead independent and creative lives in the common stream of the country. Dr. B.R. Ambedker (1891-1956) was a pioneer amongst the builders of modern India. He is now remembered and admired as a nationalist, emancipator of the depressed classes of India, an eminent constitutionalist, an authority on political, economic and social issues, statesman, author, organizer, Upholder of human rights, and an architect of the Indian constitution.

Finally, the above analysis is not only political and social, but also historical and dialectical. The Hindu social system based on chaturvaranya, especially, the untouchable castes and upper caste-Hindus, functioned as casteism in Political spheres of Indian life. This Ambedker opposed forcefully Throughout his life. His fighting was mainly concerned with getting the rights and privileges due to the scheduled castes which had been usurped by the caste Hindus.

This work has been mainly a Library research work. In the analysis attempt has been made to adopt an objective and scientific approach. This has been combined with a historical approach. The development of ideas of Dr. B.R. Ambedker has been traced chronologically and in the background of India's political developments. Further, his ideas and his work has been analysed into their component aspects for a clearer understanding of his views.

"FOUNDATION OF HINDU SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN INDIAN POLITY "PART-I : THE CHATURAVARNYA SYSTEM

Dr. B.R. Ambedker has regarded the constitutions of society prescribed by Purushasukta a part of Veda, as a chaturvarnya.¹ He was of the view that chaturvarnya provided the base for the caste-system which has ruined the Hindus.² According to him, the portions of vedas, at any rate, particularly the purushasukta were fabrications by Brahmins intended to serve their own purpose.³ The Purushasukta made in chaturvarnya a "sacred institution", "a divine ordination".

Manu enumerated a fresh the ideal of the purushasukta as a part of divine injunction. Manusaid, "for the prosperity of the world, He (the creator) from his mouth, arms , thighs and feet created the Brahmin, Kschatriya, Vaishya and the Shudra. Moreover, Manu has emphasized that "veda is the only and ultimate sanction for Dharma".⁴ According to Ambedker, it was Manu who invested the social ideal of chaturvarnya contained in Purushasukta with a degree of divinity and infallibility, which it did not have earlier.⁵

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1. Ambedker, B.R., Who were the Shudras? How they came to be the fourth varna in the Indo-Aryan Society ? Thacker and Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1946, p.4.
 2. Ambedker B.R., Annihilation of the Castes. Thacker & Co.Ltd. Bombay 1937,p.105.
 3. Ambedker op.cit. pp.7,8.
 4. Ibid pp.5-6.
 5. Ibid.

Ambedker has summerised the chaturvarnya society as follow:

- 1) Society should be divided into four classes
 - (i) Brahmins (ii) Kschatriyas (iii) Vaishyas and
 - (iv) Shudras.
- 2) There cannot be social equality among these four classes. They must be bound together by the rule of graded inequality.
- 3) The four classes should observe a division of occupation. Th
 occupation
 / Brahmin should be learning and teaching and the performance of religions ceremonies. The occupations of the Kschatriya, vaishya and shudra should be fighting, trade , and service to the three superior classes respectively. These occupations assigned to different classes should be exclusive to each.
- 4) The right of education is given to the Brahmins, Kschatriyas and Vishyas. The shudras and women have no right to education.
- 5) A man's life is divided into four stages, Brahmacharya , Grahasthashram, Vanaprastha and sanyasa. The object of the first stage should be study and education, of the second stage to live a married life, of the third to familiarize a man with the life of hermit, that is severing family ties, but without deserting his home,

and of the fourth to enable a man to go in search of God and seek union with him. But the benefits of these stages were open only to the male members of the three superior classes. The first and fourth, were not open to the shudras and women.⁶

Thus, according to this theory there can be no equality of status and opportunity among the people. There is also no place for individual dignity in it. It has created a scheme of division of work into fixed and permanent occupational categories. The Shudras have been prevented from improving their conditions, by making them devoid of education or trade. It perpetuates inequity on the ground that whatever is once settled is settled for all times. This theory is not only opposed to all norms of morality but also designed to sanctify the stratified structuring of society. Ambedker writes, "The principle underlying the purushasukta is therefore criminal intent and anti-social in its results. For, its aim is to perpetuate an illegal gain obtained by an unjust wrong reflected on another".⁷ The ruthless pursuit of the pernicious ideal of chaturvarnya has stifled the initiative, stultified the spirit of creativity and innovation and rendered the vast majority of the Hindus inert and immobile

6. Ambedker, B.R., The Buddha and His Dhamma, Siddharth College Publication, Bombay, 1957, pp.88-89.

7. Ambedker B.R. who were the Shudras ? op.cit.

The Hindu society has denied social justice to a large number of the people . As a result, it failed to provide an equal opportunity and conducive atmosphere to the all people without discrimination to develop the best which they were capable of. Moreover, due to various social disabilities, the untouchables could not get social , economic and political justice.

The purushasukta, by making a this type of social order so sacred as to be beyond criticism and beyond change and by perpetuating iniquity on the basis that whatever was once settled is settled for all times created a problem, too difficult to solve except by over throwing whole system. Ambedker said that the social order prescribed by Purushasukta has never been questioned by anyone except Buddha⁸ He also said that Arya samajists have done a great mischief in making the Hindu society a stationary society by preaching that the vedas were eternal without beginning, without end and infallible.⁹

Ambedker analysed the purushasukta as follows :

- "(1) Real was elevated to the dignity of an ideal
- (ii) an attempt was made to give reality to the ideal by invoking the sanction of law ;

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

- (iii) The Purushasukta not only regarded class composition as natural and ideal, but also regarded it as sacred and divine ;
- (iv) The Purushasukta made the division of society into four classes as a matter of dogma; and
- (v) The Purushasukta had an official gradation of society laid down, fixed and permanent, with an ascending scale of reverence and descending scale of contempt.¹⁰

Therefore, Ambedker criticised the ideal of chatur-varnya as enunciated by the purushasukta on the grounds that

- (i) it preached a class-composed society as its ideal,
- (ii) it converted the de-facto state of affairs into a de-jure connotation of an ideal society.
- (iii) it gave the defecto state of class composition a legal effect by accepting it as a de-jure connotation of an ideal society.
- (iv) It accepted the class composition as an ideal and also sacred and divine,
- (v) it made the four classes a matter of dogma,
- (vi) it accepted the graded inequality among the four classes.

10. Ibid.

According to Ambedker, the attempt of Parushasukta to realise the ideal was a kind of political jugglery, the like of which was not to be found in any book of religion.¹¹ Almost all the Hindu books are replete with the concept of Dharma. Both Manu and Yajñavalkya, a learned Hindu seer, refer to Dharma as compulsory duties and obligation of the different varnas. The concept of Dharma as has been included in the Varnashramadharma has brought ruination to concept of social solidarity.

Dr. Jayaswal contends that Dharma has placed more importance on the Brahmins and therefore, the Brahmin was fairly above the influence of the king. He writes that the administration of Justice under Hindu Monarchy remained always separate from the executive and generally independent in form and ever independent in spirit. The reason for this was that lawyers were appointed judges, and lawyers as a rule came from among Brahmins, it was in the pre-classical period (1000 B.C. - 500 B.C.) during which the Hindu king put on a new garb, that the Brahmin transferred himself from humble position of the "Repeater of Songs" (Brahmana) to the restate of Politics. The priest Brahmin became distinct from the Brahmin of politics and ordinary life.¹²

11. Ibid.

12. Jayaswal K.P., Hindu Polity, : A constitutional History of India in Hindu times, The Bangalore Printing and publishing Co.Ltd., Bangalore, 1943, pp. 323-324.

The ideal of varnashram as an embodiment of Dharma gave more privileges and immunities to the Brahmins than the people from the rest of the Varna. "Dutta in his book "Beginning and Growth of caste in India" writes that during the period of Brahmins the Brahmin had become the lord of the whole creation. He further writes that the Brahmin is by right the lord of the whole creation. Whatever exists in the world is his right-ful property. He has a special claim to be honoured if he goes as a guest to any householder. He has thus various privileges in society. But that is not all. Even the king must give him preferential treatment. While emphasizing the king's duty to act with justice, he enjoins him to be lenient towards Brahmins - it is privilege of the Brahmin to investigate law suits and the Shudra is explicitly debarred from settling the law. Thus virtue is assumed to be the possession of Brahmin, while the shudras are looked upon as essentially sinful. It is this attitude that reveals itself in the graded punishment prescribed for four varnas for the same offence.¹³

Following privileges of the Brahmins claimed by them, have been discussed by Dr. K.P. Kane:-

13. Anjara , J.J. , The Nature and grounds of political Obligation in the Hindu State, London, 1935, pp. 201-203.

- (I) The Brahmin must be acknowledged to be guru to all varnas by the mere fact of his birth,
- (II) The Brahmin has the sole right of deciding upon the duties of all other classes, what conduct was proper to them and what should be their means of livelihood and other classes were to abide by his directions and the king was to rule in accordance with the directions;
- (III) The Brahmin is not subject to authority of the king the king was the ruler of all except the Brahmin ;
- (IV) The Brahmin is exempt from whipping, fetters being put on him. The imposition of fines, exile, censure and abandonment;
- (V) A Brahmin (Learned in Vedas) is free from taxes ;
- (VI) A Brahmin is entitled to claim whole of the treasure trove if found by him. If found by the king, he must give half to the Brahmins.
- (VII) The property of Brahmin dying without an heir shall not go to the king, but shall be distributed among Kshatriyas or Brahmins.
- (VIII) The king meeting a Brahmin on the road must give way to the Brahmin ;
- (IX) The Brahmin must be saluted first ;
- (X) The person of a Brahmin is sacred. No death sentence could be passed against a Brahmin even if he is guilty of murder ;

to which the shudra was subjected to by Brahminic law givers. Following is the list of disabilities :

(1) The Shudras were denied initiation (Upanayana or the bearing of sacred thread); the study of the vedas; and the kindling of sacred fire (i.e. the right to perform sacrifice).

(II) A Shudra was to take the last place in the social order.

(III) The Shudra was impure and therefore no sacred act should be done within his sight and within his hearing.

(IV) The shudra is not to be respected in the same way as the other classes.

(V) The life of Shudra has no value and any body may kill him without having to pay compensation at all if any compensation is paid, it should be of small value as compared with that of the Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya.

(VI) The Shudra must not acquire knowledge and it is a sin and a crime to give him education.

(VII) A Shudra must not acquire property. A Brahmin can take his property at his pleasure.

(VIII) A Shudra cannot hold office under the state.

(IX) The duty and salvation of the shudra lies in his serving the higher classes.

(X) The higher class should not intermarry with the shudra. They can however keep shudra women as concubines. But if the

- (XI) Threatening a Brahmin with assault, or striking him or drawing blood from his body is an offence ;
- (XII) For certain offences the Brahmin must receive a lesser punishment than members of other classes.
- (XIII) The king should not summon a Brahmin as a witness where the litigant is not Brahmin ;
- (XIV) Even when a women has had the former husbands who are not Brahmins , if Brahmin marries such a women, it is he alone who is her husband and not a Rajanya or Vaishya to whom she may have been married.¹⁴

In addition to these, further, Brahmins have got other privileges such as free access to the houses of other people for the purpose of begging alms; the right to collect fuel, flowers, water and the like without its being regarded as theft, and to converse with other men's wives without being restrained (in such conversation) by others, etc.

In contrast to the privileges claimed by Brahmin Ambedker mentioned the Brahmanic views on the civil status of the Shudras which included a long list of disabilities accompanied by a most dire system of pains and penalties

14. Ambedker B.R. op.cit.

Shudra touches the women of higher classes, he will be liable to dire punishment.

(XI) The Shudra is born in servility and must be kept in servility for ever."¹⁵

Moreover , the untouchables suffered heavily due to the philosophy of Brahminism. According to Ambedker, the untouchable was outside of the varna system. The shudra was savarna, i.e. one possessing a varna. As against him. The untouchable was avarna, i.e. outside varna system, Ambedker called the philosophy of Brahminism as the technique of supression. He mentioned six cordial principles of the philosophy of Brahmanism:

- "(1) Graded inequality between the different classes.
- (2) Complete disarmament of the shudras and the untouchables
- (3) Complete bane on the education of the shudras and the untouchables.
- (4) Total exclusion of the shudras and the untouchables from places of power and authority.
- (5) Complete prohibition against the shudras and the untouchables acquiring property, and
- (6) Complete subjugation and suppression of women".¹⁶

15. Ambedker B.R. Who were Shudra ? op.cit.

16. Ambedker B.R. What Congress and Gandhi. op.cit.

Thus, inequality became the official doctrine of Brahmanism and the suppression of the lower classes was deemed to be their bounden duty. Ambedker was of the opinion that untouchability was not only a religious system but also an economic system which was worse than slavery.¹⁷

The caste system created such a society which had untouchables, unapproachables and unshadowables. Moreover Hindu society had in its fold various criminal tribes as well as several primitive tribes. In addition to the four classes of chaturvarnya, Ambedker recognised fifth class under the Hindu social fold, which was outside chaturvarnya. It included the following -

"(I) Criminal tribes (II) Aborgines (III) Untouchables.¹⁸

All were living in deplorable condition . Therefore Ambedker vehemently criticised the Hindu civilization and called it an infamy. He blamed the intellectual class, that is the Brahmins for the deplorable conditions of the masses because they could not change the state of degradation in which they were placed. He writes, "Under the old Hindu law the Brahmin enjoyed the benefit of the clergy and could not be hanged

17. Ibid.

18. Ambedker B.R. The Untouchables - who are they and why they became untouchables ? Amrit Book Co., New Delhi, 1948.

even if he was the guilty of murder, and the East India Company allowed him the privilege till 1817, His profession has lost all the nobility . He had become a pest. The Brahmin systematically preyed on society and profiteered in religion. The Puranas and shastras which he manufactured are treasure trove of sharp practices which the Brahmins employed to fool, beguile and swindle the common mass of poor, illeterate and superstitious Hindus.*¹⁹

Thus, Dr. Ambedker blamed the British Government for deliberately maintaining neutrality and for allowing the social laws and customs of Hindus to continue unaltered.

While prescribing the disabilities of the Shudras, the Brahmins law givers failed to give reasons for them. According to Ambedker , the chaturvaranya is not only a division of labour but also the division of labours and such division of labours is not found anywhere in the world. He said : A close examination of this ideal has convinced me that as a system of social organisation, chaturvasnya is impracticable, harmful and turned out to be a miserable failure. The protagonists of chaturvaranya ^a took great care to point out that their chaturvarnya was based not on birth but

19. Ambedker, B.R., Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah , Thacker and Co. Ltd., Bombay 1943.

on 1 worth- quality (guna). Ambedker said-

"I cannot reconcile myself to this ideal, only new names one given , but the social content is the same." He added, "to allow this chaturvarnya based on worth to be designated as by such stinking labels of Brahmin, Kschatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra indicative of social divisions based on birth is a snave "²⁰

Ambedker raised an important question ; why were there no socially revolutions in India? He answered, "The lower classes of Hindus have been completely disabled for direct action on account of this wretched system of Chaturvanya".²¹ He further said that the lower classes were condemned to be lowly and not knowing the way of escape and not having the means of escape they became reconciled to eternal servitude which they accepted as their inescapable fate.

Ambedker came to the following conclusions -

- (1) They were so socialized as never to complain of their low state;
- (II) They never dreamed of trying to improve their lot, by forcing the other classes to treat them with the common respect ;
- (III) The idea that they had been born to their lot was ingrained in their mind that it never occurred to them to think that their fate was anything so irrevocable ;

20. Ibid .

21. Ibid.

(IV) Nothing would ever persuade them that men are all made of the same clay, or that they have the right ^{to} insist on better treatment than that meted out to them".²²

The weak in Europe has had in his freedom of military service his physical weapon, in suffrage his political weapon and in education his moral weapon. All the three weapons were denied to the masses in India by Chaturvarnya.²³ To the question that Hindus had survived for centuries, Ambedker answered that the fact of survival was no proof of fitness to survive. Hindu society survived not because of caste, but because the foreigner who conquered Hindus did not find it necessary to kill them whole sale. The history of Hindus was the History of the surrender of India before foreign invaders. The Hindus have not only never with stood the onslaught of the foreign invader, they have never even shown the capacity to organise a rebellion to throw of the foreign yoke.²⁴

According to Ambedker, varna and caste were evil ideas and it mattered very little whether one believed in varna or caste. Varna was infallible like the vedas. The Bhagavada Gita has done enough mischief by giving a fresh lease of life to the varnasystem, by basing it upon

22. Ambedker B.R. what Congress & Gandhi op.cit. p.199.

23. Ambedker B.R. op. cit.

24. Ibid.

a new and plausible foundation, namely that of innate qualities. Moreover the varnasystem of Bhagavadgita did not say that it was based on birth. He said further , "with Mr. Gandhi varna is determined by birth and profession of a varna is determined by principle of heredity so that varna is merely another name for caste.²⁵ As regards Gandhi's ideal of following one's ences-tral calling, he thought it was not only impossible and impractical ideal but it was morally indefensibl ideal. Ambadker commented on Mahatma Gandhi that he was not following his own ences-tral profession of Bania. Gandhi was the bania by caste but he did not became a bussinessmen. Dr. Ambedker writes", In any case he exposes his conduct to examination and I must not be blamed if I ask how far has the Mahatma attempted to realize his ideal in his own case. Mahatma is bania by birth. His ences-trals had abandoned trading in favour of ministership which ^{is} a calling of Brahmins. In his own life before he became Mahatma, when occasion arose for him to choose his career, he preferred law to scales. On abandoning law he became a half sant and a half politician. He has never touched trading which is his ences-tral calling.²⁶

Gandhi remarked : Dr. Ambedker is a challenge to Hindustm .²⁷ He praised Dr. Ambedker as the most competent

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Keer, D., Dr. Ambedker: Life and Mission, Popular (Bombay), 1962.

critic of Hinduism and as the most uncompromising and the ablest among such critics. He writes about Dr. Ambedker, "No Hindu who prizes his faith above life itself can afford to under rate the importance of the indictment. Dr. Ambedker is not alone in his disgust. He is the most uncompromising exponent and of the ablest among them. He is certainly the most irre-concilable among them. Thank God, in the front rank of leaders, he is singularly alone and as yet but a representative of a very small minority. But what he says is voiced with more or less vehemence by many leaders belonging to the depressed classes, only the latter, for instance, Rao Bahadur M.C. Rajah and Dewan Bahadur Srinivasan, not only do not threaten to give up Hinduism but find enough warmth in it to compensate for the sameful persecution to which the vast mass of Harijans are exposed.²⁸ When Ambedker was asked by his critics, that when he did not want caste, what was his ideal society. Ambedker replied that, "My ideal would be based on liberty, equality and fraternity."²⁹

Ambedker criticized Gandhi's theory of chaturvarhya as impracticable in this age and there was no hope of revival in the future. Further he said that Mahatma Gandhi was

28. Harijan, Weekly, July 11, 1936 and July 18, 1936.

29. Ambedker, B.R., 'Annihilation of Caste.'

doing a great disservice to social reform by advocating his imaginary utility of division of varnas, for it created hindrances in our way.³⁰

Ambedker concluded : "There cannot be a more degrading system of social organisation than chaturvarnya. It is the system which deadens, paralyses and cripples the people from helpful activity."³¹ He remarked "chaturvarnya must fail for the very reason for which plato's republic must fail" and said, "To me this chaturvarnya with its old labels is utterly repellent and my whole being rebels against it."³²

As regards the remedy of this worst chaturvarnya Ambedker suggested that real remedy is intermarriage and destroying the belief in the sanctity of the shastras. He emphasised that men must be free from the deep rooted religious prejudices or sacred notions behind castes, Divinity behind the castes; i.e. behind the shastras, should be destroyed.³³ According to Ambedker, the Maurya period was a period when chaturvarnya was completely annihilated. The Shudras became the rulers of the country.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

The period of defeat and darkness was the period when Chaturvarnya flourished. He called Maurya period in history as a period of freedom, greatness and glory.³⁴

According to Ambedker, the Hindu society was stagnant and static Hindu Society. It was opposed to the democratic values. He wanted Democracy to be the way in every walks of life of the people. Therefore, he asked the Indian people to remove the contradictions in the social and economic life of the people and urged them to make political and social democracy a way of life.³⁵ He wanted the removal of the contradictions created by the ideal of chaturvarnya as soon as possible lest those who were being crushed under its dead weight might blow up the fragile structure of our nascent democracy. He was of the view that Hindu ideal of society was against the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. It opposed commerce. It became a foe to nationality and democratic values, such as one man, one vote, one value. The Hindu society was composed of sections of people who had no stake in the status quo, therefore, the nation became very weak and fell an easy prey to the

34. Ibid.

35. Pylee, M.V. , Constitutional Government in India, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960, p.771.

foreigners. He wrote, "The Hindu's life has been a life of continuous defeat. It is mode of survival of which every Hindu will feel ashamed."³⁶

Ambedker has concluded the following possible results of the reorganization of society based on chaturvarnya and caste-

- (i) The caste has ruined the Hindus.
- (ii) The reorganization of the Hindu society on the basis of chaturvarnya is impossible because the varnavyavastha is like a leaky pot or like a man running at the nose. It is incapable of sustaining itself by its own virtue and an inherent tendency to degenerate into caste system unless there is legal sanction behind it which can be enforced against every one trespassing passing ;
- (iii) The reorganization of the Hindu society on the basis of chaturvarnya is harmful because the effect of the varnavyavastha is to degrade the masses by denying the opportunity to acquire knowledge and emasculate them by denying them the right to be armed ;

36. Ambedker, B.R., 'Annihilation of the caste', p.23.

Ambedker wanted that the Hindu Society must be reorganised on a religious basis which would recognise the principle of liberty, equality, and fraternity. In order to achieve this object, he suggested following remedial measures :

- (1) The sense of religious sactity behind caste and varna should be destroyed;
- (II) The sactity of caste and varna can be destroyed only by discarding the divine authority of the Shastras.³⁸

Ambedker wanted to give a new doctrinal basis to Hindu society, a basis that is in consonance with ideals of liberty , equality and fraternity. The values of Democracy, he said, should find fulfilment in the everyday life of the Hindu society. He therefore, advocated a total radical change in out look as the first step towards the establishment of a truly democratic society in India. Such a change , he believed is necessary if India is to catch up with the advanced countries of the west.

Thus, Ambedker proved that Chaturvarnyawas a political creation as added lateron to the vedas. by Brahmin class. It was all done by giving it a religious recognition so that they could easily defend it in the name of religion and keep a large number of the people in a state of slavery, devoid of all human rights.

37. Ambedker, B.R., Annihilation of — caste, 117.

38. Ibid.

PART-II : The Shudra - The struggle for supremacy between
Kschatriyas and Brahmins

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar disagrees with the western theory that during the Vedic period there was unity of race and that race was the Aryan race. Secondly, he refutes the theory that the Aryans were fair and other were dark. Ambedkar quotes Rigveds I. 117.8; I, 117.5; II. 3.9 and writes that at these instances show that Vedic Aryan had no colour prejudice. How could they have? The Vedic Aryans were not of one colour. Their complexion varied; some were copper in complexion, some white and some black. Ram, the son of Dasharath has been described as shyam i.e. dark in complexion; so is the Krishna, the descendent of Yadu, another Aryan clan. The name of Rishi Dirghatma, who is the author of many mantras, was given to him due to his complexion. Kanva is an Aryan Rishi of great repute who according to the description given in Rigveda x-31-11, was of dark colour.¹

The conclusions that followed from an examination of the western theory were summarised by Ambedkar as follows-

- (1) Vedas do not know any such race as Aryan race.
- (2) There is no evidence in the Vedas of any invasion of India by Aryan race and its having conquered the Dases and Dasyus supposed to be the native of India.

1. Ambedkar B.R. who were the Shudra ? How they came to be the fourth Varna in Indo-Aryan society?

(3) There is no evidence to show that the distinction between Aryan, Dases, Dasyus was a racial distinction.

(4) The vedas do not support the contention that the Aryan were different in colour from Dases and Dasyus".²

He further writes that there are really two vedas.

(1) Rigveda (ii) The Atharveda. The Samveda and the Yajurveda are merely different forms of the Rigveda. The reason to regard Rigveda as sacred and Atharvada as vulgar is that the two belonged to two different races of the Aryans and it was only when they had become one that the Atharvada came to be regarded on the par with the Rigveda. After an exhaustive study of Indian history, specially the Anthropometrical survey of Indian people by Sir Harbert Risley in 1901, that of Dr. Guha in 1936 and the findings of Professor Ripley, Dr. Ambedkar came to the conclusion that there were in India two Aryan races and not one. This finding provides anthropometrical and historical support to the claims of the Rigveda. Dr. Ambedkar writes "having regard to this, one cannot refuse to admit that here there is the direct conflict between in western theory and the testimony of Rigveda. Where as the Western theory speaks of one Aryan race, the Rigveda speaks of two Aryan races. The Western Theory is thus in conflict with

2. Ibid.

rigveda on a major issue. The Rigveda being the best evidence on the subject . The theory which is in conflict with it must be rejected. There is no escape"³.

The fact is that there was no military conquest by the Aryans of non-Aryan races of Dases and Dasyus For this Ambedker gave the following facts:

(I) There was paucity of references in the Rigveda to wars between Aryans and the Dases. There were sporadic riots between Dases, Dasyus and Aryas. It was certainly not evidence of conquest or subjugation.

(II) The two races seemed to have arrived at a mutual settlement based on peace with honour. This was borne out by references in Rigveda showing how Dases and Aryas have stood as one united people against a common enemy.

(III) Whatever the degree of conflict, it was not a conflict of race. It was a conflict which had arisen on account of differences in religions. He concluded that there was, therefore, no evidence in support of the conclusion that the Dasyus belonged to different race.⁴

Ambedker also rejects the following two suppositions.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

(I) That the Dases and Dasyus are one and the same people.

(II) They and the shudras are the same people.

As Dases have been referred to separately in 54 places and Dasyus have been referred to separately in 78 places in the vedas they indicate two different communities.

The shudra is a proper name of the tribe or a clan and is not a derivative word as is sought to be made out.⁵

In this connection he remarked that the Brahminic writers excelled in the art of investing false etymologies.

To support his view that shudra is a tribe or a clan, Ambedker mentioned that Alexander's historians during the invasion of India have described a number of republics which Alexander encountered as Free, independent and Autonomous. there are formed by different tribes and there is a mention of a people called Sodari. They were fairly important tribe and as such he identified them with the ancient shudras .

Ambedker further came to the conclusion that :

- (1) The Shudras were the Aryans;
- (2) The Shudras belong to the Kshatriya class-
- (3) That shudras were as important a class as Kshatriyas, that some of the most eminent and powerful kings were shudras.

5. Ibid.

He also dismissed the Chaturvarna theory of parushasukta as the purushasukta is a later composition added to the original Rigveda. This has been dealt with on the basis of the language of purushasukta as compared with the language of the rest of the Rigveda. Colebrooke, Max Muller and Weber are of the opinion that the purushasukta is a later addition. Therefore, Ambedkar came to the conclusion that there were originally only three varnas and that shudra were only a part of the second varna because parushasukta was added to the Rigveda after the taittiriya Samhita, the Kathaka Samhita and the Maitriyani Samhita of the Yajurveda.

Ambedkar raised the question : If the shudras belonged to the Kshatriya Varna why were they degraded ?

He answered : The degradation of the shudras was the result of the violent conflicts between the shudras and the Brahmins. There was a direct evidence of a violent conflict between the Shudra king sudas and the Vashistha, a Brahmin Rishi. The enmity between Vashistha and Vishwamitra was not the enmity between two priests. But it was an enmity between a Brahmin priest and a Kshatriya priest. Vashistha was the Brahmin seer and the Vishwamitra was a Kshatriya . The Vishwamitra was the author of many hymns of the Veda and was acclaimed as the Rajarishi. He was the author of hymn which is held to be holiest in the whole of the vedas, namely Gayatrimantra in the Rigveda(III 62.10). He was the Kshatriya and his family belonged to the clan of Bharatas.

According to Ambedker, the dispute between Brahmins and Kschatriya centred round following three things: "(1) The right to receive gifts (payment made without work). The contention of the Brahmins was that no body could receive gifts except Brahmins. It was the right of the Brahmins only.

(II) The right to teach the vedas : Brahmins contention was that the Kschatriya had no right to study the veda. It was the privilege of Brahmins only.

(III) The right to officiate at the sacrifices : on this point the Brahmin's contention was that the Kschatriya had the right to perform sacrifices, but he had no right to officiate as a prohit (priest) at a sacrifice. That was the privilege of Brahmins only".⁶

Ambedker points out that the Kshatriyas insisted on the third point i.e. the Kshatriya priest had a right to officiate as prohit at a sacrifice. There were also many more conflicts between the kings and the Brahmins, such as king vena and the Brahmins, the king pururavas and the Brahmins. The king Nahusha and the Brahmins; King Nimi and the Brahmins. All these kings were declared Shudras. The Technique of degrading the Shudra was to refuse to perform upanayana of the shudras. This was how the Shudras came to be degraded from IInd to the forth varna. The denial of the upanayana to the Shudra made the Shudra look up to the higher classes as their superiors

6. Ibid.

and enabled the three higher classes look down upon the shudras as their inferiors. Ambedker analysed the whole situation in the following way :

- (I) The right to property was dependent upon the capacity to sacrifice and capacity to sacrifice depended upon the upanayans. This means that only those who were entitled the upnayana had a right to own property.
- (II) A sacrifice must be accompanied by mantras of the vedas. This meant that the sacrifices must have undergone a course in the study of the Vedas. The study of Vedas was open only to those person, who had undergone the upnayana ceremony if there was no upnayana road to knowledge was closed.⁷

Thus the right to property and right to knowledge were two most important rights conferred by the upanayana. He concluded that the stoppage of upanayana was a most deadly weapon discovered by the Brahmins to avenge themselves against the shudras . It had the effect of an atomic Bomb. It did make for the shudras to use the language of the Brahmins, a graveyard.⁸

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

Ambedker opines that there was time when both women and shudras had the right to upanayana and did had it performed. To cite it he gave an example of Shudra king Sudas.

Ambedker posed the question : What power did the Brahmins have in connection with the upanayana of the Shudras ? According to him it can be explained by the exclusive right of the Brahmins to officiate at the upanayana and the penalties imposed upon the Brahmins for performing unauthorised upanayana . None but the Brahmin could perform the ceremony ; if it was performed by any body else, it became invalid.

In support of his contention, Ambedker referred to the coronation of shivaji which took place on 6 June 1674. The idea vedic coronation was to obtain social precedence he analysed and put forth the following four conclusions : (1) Shivaji could not compel any one of them to perform his coronation. (2) Shivaji did not dare to have his coronation performed by non-Brahmin. (3) It proved that the power of determining the status of Hindu depended entirely upon the will of the Brahmins. (4) The decisions of the Brahmins on matters of status were open to sale like the indulgences of the catholic clergy.

It may be noted that the ministers of the shivaji were greatest opponents of shivaji in his project of coronation. They thought that he was a Shudra. He said that what Gaga Bhatta got was more than a fair fee and that it included some part as illegal gratification to keep him straight.⁹

According to Ambedker, Brahmins applied ban against the upanayna of all Shudras. The Brahmins who once declared Shivaji as a Kschatriya should have declared his descendent too as Kshatriya but they refused to the status of Kschatriya to the descendents of the Shivaji. The Brahmins claimed this as their power to do and undo the status of a Hindu at anytime. They could raise a shudra to the status of Kschatriya, they could degrade the Kschatriya to the status of the Shudra. Therefore, Ambedker stated that the Brahmins never cared for the principle of Stare-decisis that the court must always hesitate to over rule the decisions which are not manifestly erroneous and mischievous, which have stood for many years unchallenged and which from their nature may reasonably supposed to have affected the conduct of a large portion of community.

9. Ibid.

After tracing the origin of shudras and discovering the causes of their degradation and after shifting his the historical material and theories of the various authors earlier orthodox as well as modern, Ambedker concluded :

- (I) The shudras were one of the Aryan communities of the solar race.
- (II) The shudras ranked as Kshatriya Varna in the Indo-Aryan Society;
- (III) There was a time when the Aryan society recognised only three varnas namely, Brahmins, Kschatriyas and Vaishyas. The Shudras were not a seperate varna but a part of Kschatriya varna;
- (IV) There were continuous feud between the shudra kings and the Brahmins, in which the Brahmins were subjected to mainly tyrannies and indignities;
- (V) As a resut of the hatred towards the shudras due to then tyrannies and oppressions, the Brahmins refused to invest the shudras with the sacred thread;
- (VI) Owing to the loss of sacred thread the shudras became socially degraded, fell below the rank of the vaishyas and came to form the forth varna. ¹⁰

10. Ibid.

Ambedker, in this way proved that the Shudra class was the result of social and political fighting in the past for supermacy between Kschatriyas and Brahmins.

PART-III : THE UNTOUCHABLES- THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPERMACY BETWEEN
BUDDHISM AND BRAHMINISM

In India, the practice of untouchability is a peculiar feature of the Hindu system. Untouchability meant pollution by the touch of certain persons by reason of their birth in a particular caste or family.

According to Ambedker, the hereditary untouchability is found only in India and no where in the world. In 1935, fortunately. The Government of India prepared a list of such groups who were hereditary untouchable. It was carried out along with the order of council-under Government of India Act 1935. This long list is divided into 9 parts, each for one province, it included 429 such castes.¹

According to Ambedker, the untouchable was outside the fold of the varna system. The Hindu theory of Priority in creation did not and could not apply to the untouchables.

According to Dr. Ambedker the untouchables lived outside the village.² all over India. He explained that in primitive society there were nomadic communities- The Tribal communities based on blood relationship. The primitive society was nomadic, not because of only migratory instinct, but it was a result of the fact that the earliest form of wealth

1. Ambedker, B.R., Untouchables who are they and why They became untouchable ? Anrit Book Co, New Delhi, 1948.

2. Ibid.

held by Primitive society was cattle .Cattle had the migratory character. This society became a settled community when a new kind of wealth was discovered. It was a land. The progress of agriculture became the main source round which the whole society became settled.³

Ambedker explained why the untouchables live outside village. According to him, there was continuous tribal warfare and as a result of it the problem of defeated tribes arose. A defeated tribe became broken into bits. It was a floating population consisting of groups of broken tribe men roaming in all directions. They had to live as stray individuals and the shelter and protection became the problem of "Broken Men". The settled communities and the Broken men struck a bargain whereby the Broken Men agreed to do the work of watch and ward for the settled tribes and settled tribes agreed to give them food and shelter. As the Broken Men were aliens, they began to live outside the village Ambedker maintained that the untouchability had nothing to do with their living outside the village.⁴ According to him the words antyaja, Antya, Antyavasin and Bahriya were all used to denote untouchables frequently. The word Antya and Antyaja meant not the end of the creation but the end of village. It was the name given to those people who

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

lived on the outskirts of the village. The word Antya had the survival value.⁵ The primitive society was transformed from tribal into territorial community. For it was the substitution of common territory for common blood as the bond of union that was responsible for the disappearance of the separate quarters of the Broken Men. The system separate quarters became perpetual and permanent feature of the Indian village. According to Ambedker, the Mahar lived outside the village because they were Broken Men who belonged to a tribe different from the one to which the settled tribe belonged. The Broken Men according to the theory, were given quarters outside the village because they belonged to different tribe, and therefore different blood.⁶

Ambedker rejected the racial theory propounded by Stanley Ross. It contained the elements- that the untouchables were non-Aryans, non-Dravidian aboriginals and that they were conquered and subjugated by the Dravidians. According to Ross; there was a strong probability that the outcastes were the survivors of the conquered people. They were not the races conquered by the Aryans. According to him the origin of untouchability was to be found in two circumstances- race and occupation. He further said that there have been two invasions of India: The first was the invasion of India

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

by the Dravidians and then the invasion by the Aryans. The Aryan conquered the Dravidians.⁷ Ambedker commented that "The theory is too mechanical and mere speculation. According to Ambedker, the terms Dravidian and the Nagas were merely two different names for the same people. Dravidian as Nagas occupied not only south but whole of India. The Nagas in North India gave up Tamil which was their mothertongue and adopted sanskrit in its place, which meant that the Naga was a racial or cultural name and Dravidian their linguistic name. The Dases were the same as the Nagas and the Nagas were same as Dravidians. Therefore there were only two races : Aryans and Nagas⁸ Thus Ambedker disproved this thing that the untouchables belonged to a race different from Aryans and Dravidians. In the favour of his argument, he gave also an example of the anthropometrical measurements. Which established that the Brahmins and untouchables belonged to the same race. Ambedker maintained that if the Brahmins were Aryans, the untouchables were also Aryans, if the Brahmins were Dravidians the untouchables were also Dravidians, if the Brahmins were Nagas, the untouchables were Nagas, such being the facts, the theory propounded by Ross must be said to be on false foundation.⁹

As regards the racial theory of origin of untouchability, he explained that the unit of Hindu Society was not the sub-caste but the family founded on the rule of exogamy. Kula

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

and gotra were Hindu equivalents of the totem of the primitive society. If the same kula and gotra were found to exist in different castes and communities, it would be possible to say that the castes though socially different were racially one. This problem was studied by Risley (Census 1901) His results flatly contradicted the theory that the untouchables were racially different from the Aryans and the Dravidians. The anthropological investigation showed that the Mahars and Marathas had the same Kula. It can be seen that there is hardly a kula among Mahars which is not to be found among Marathas, He concluded that the racial theory of the origin of the untouchability must therefore, be abandoned.¹⁰

Ambedker also rejected filthy occupations as a base for an explanations of untouchability. According to him, the soul of chaturvarnya was the basis of the Principles of graded inequality. The Brahmins, Kchatriyas, vaishyas and shudras, if they were slaves, did the work of scavenging. Therefore, it could be stated that slavery existed in all varnas. Ambedker asked ; "If the scavenging was not loathsome to an Aryan how can it be said that engaging in filthy occupations was the cause of the untouchability ? " He concluded that the theory of filthy occupations as an explanation of the untouchability was therefore not Tenable.¹¹

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

The 'Broken Men' were Buddhists ; Therefore Brahmin preached against them contempt and hatred with the result that the Broken Men came to be regarded as untouchable. He pointed that victorious Brahmins were contemptuous of Buddhism because the Buddhists danied the validity of Chaturvarnya becoming the law of land, and decried the making of animal socrifice. And so , the Brahmins imposed untouchability on "Broken Men" as they would not give up Buddhism. Since untouchability struck to Broken Men only, it was obvious that there was an additional cercumtance which had played its part in faste-ning untouchability upon the Broken Man.¹²

As regards the origin of untouchability, Ambedker traced it in beef-eating. Ambedker stated that Broken men in addition to being Buddhists, retained their habit of beef-eating which gave further ground for offence to the Brahmins.¹³

As regards the giving up of beef eating by non-Brahmins, he explained that Manu Smriti and emperor Asoka had neither prohibited the slaughter of cow nor made it unlawful. Ashok had no particular interest in the cow and owed no special duty to protect her againt killing. He said "the reason I like to suggest is that it was due to their desire to imitate Brahmins that the non-Brahmins gave up beef eating".¹⁴

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

As to the question : why the Brahmins become vegetarians ? He said that the Brahmins were the greatest beef-eaters. The yajna of the Brahmins was nothing but the killing of the innocent animals, carried on in the name of the religion with pomp and caremony with an attempt to enshroud it in mystery with a view to concealing their appetite for beef. Manu did not regard the cow as a sacred animals on the other hand, he regarded it as an impure animal whose touch caused ceremonial pollution. He had no objection to the eating of cow's flesh, on the otherhand he did not make the killing of cow an offence. The explanation of some that the deification of cow was a manifestation of the Advaita philosophy was regarded by Ambedker as unsatisfactory. According to him the clue to the reason of cow worship was to be found in the struggle between Buddhism and Brahminism. Buddhism was against animal sacrifice in general. It had no particular affection for the cow. Cow-killing was made a mortal sin by the Gupta kings who were the champions of Hinduism. The object of Brahmins in giving up beef eating was to snatch away from the Buddhist bhikkus the supermacy they had acquired as evidenced by adoption of vegetarianism by the Brahmins. It was a means adopted by the Brahmins to regain their lost position.¹⁶

16. Ibid.

Ambedker distinguished untouchability from impurity. He explained that the pollutions by the touch of Chandala was observed by the Brahmin only and the pollution was probably observed on ceremonial occasions only. If these conclusions were right, then this was a case of impurity as distinguished from untouchability. The untouchable polluted all, while the impure polluted only Brahmin. The touch of the impure caused pollution only on a ceremonial occasion. The touch of the untouchable caused pollution at all times. According to Ambedker it was the beef eating which was the root of untouchability and which divided the impure and the untouchables. Therefore, the conclusion that untouchability was not the same as impurity had important bearing on the determination of the date of the birth of untouchability.¹⁷ Ambedker said that in Vedic times there was no untouchability. In the period of the Dharmasutras, there was impurity but no untouchability.

According to Ambedker there was no fifth varna at the time of Manu. Therefore, Ambedker concluded that there was no untouchability in the time of Manu, because Manusmriti and the Naradasmriti have referred to the slaves and not to the untouchables as the fifth class. Ambedker said, " If the expression of fifth class in Naradasmriti referred to slaves, I see no reason why the

17. Ibid.

expression fifth class in Manusmriti should not be taken to have reference to slaves. If this reasoning is correct, it cuts the very foot of the contention that untouchability existed in the time of Manu. Manusmriti did not enjoin untouchability.¹⁸

According to Ambedkar, the Manusmriti came into being sometime after 185 B.C., as the interconnection between Pushya Mitra and the thesis propounded by Manu showed. Ambedkar remarked that in the 2nd century A.D. there was no untouchability.¹⁹

Barrister S.G. Mukharjee in his book - 'The Decline and Fall of Hindus; writes : "Those who denied Hinduism were beheaded, and expelled outside the villages. Through the prohibitions created by Smritis they were treated untouchables.

Ambedkar was of the view that the condition described by Fa-Hian, the famous Chinese traveller in AD 400, though bordering on untouchability might not be taken as amounting to untouchability. Fa-Hian visited India in the time of Gupta Kings, patrons of Brahminism. He found that the chandals were named 'evil men' and lived apart from others. Ambedkar was of the opinion that the case

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

of Chandals was not the case for the existence or non existence of untouchability. There is also description of chandala in Bana's Kadambari. Far from being degraded, the chandalas of Ban's Period had ruling family among them, for Ban spoke of the Chandala girl as a chandala princess. Ban's period was ascribed as A.D. 600. By that time Chandalas had not come to be regarded as untouchables. ²⁰

While trying to trace the precise time of the emergence of untouchability quoted by Yuanchwsang the Chinese traveller Ambedker came to conclusion that when Yuan Chwang visited India, the untouchability had emerged by 600 A.D. and did not exist in 200 A.D. But actually untouchability must have born sometime about 400 A.D. According to D.R. Bhandarkar, cow killing was made a capital offence by the Gupta kings sometime in the 4th century AD. According to Ambedker untouchability must be intimately connected with: (1) The ban on cow killing; and

(2) The ban on eating beef .

Thus, he concluded, "we can, therefore, say with some confidence that untouchability was born sometime about 400 AD. It is born out of the struggle for supermacy between Buddhism and Brahmanism which has so completely moulded

20. Ibid.

the history of India and the study of which is so woefully neglected by the students of Indian history.²¹

Ambedker was of the opinion that the murder of emperor Brihadrath Maurya in 185 B.C. by his Brahmin Commander-in-Chief Pushyamitra Sunga was not caused by personal enmity. It was religious fanaticism which occasioned this. Therefore this was an epoch-making. It was not only the end of the Mauryan Empire but the beginning of the Sunga Empire; in other words, the end of Buddhism and the beginning of Brahmanism. The Manusmriti provided ideological justification for the myriad misdeeds of the Pushyamitra. Moreover, the greed of Brahmins knew no bounds. Triumphant Brahminism wanted a sacred text, infallible in its authority, to justify their transgressions in the following rules .

- (1) It was a sin for a Brahmin even to touch a weapon.
- (ii) The second rule made the king's person sacred and regicide a sin.

Therefore, it was the task of Manusmriti: (1) to make Chaturvarnya the law of land ; (II) to make animal

21. Ibid .

sacrifice legal ; (III) to enable the Brahmin to resort to arms. (IV) make regicide justifiable.

We notice that it was not only the struggle between Buddhism and Brahminism but it was also the struggle between the class of Kschatriyas and Brahminism. The kschatriyas supported Buddhism and Jainism. Because of this there was considerable erosion in pride and prestige of the Brahmins.

"In Buddhist literature Pushyamitra figures as a great prosecutor of the Buddhists, bent on acquiring fame as the annihilator of the Buddha's Doctrine. In order to exterminate the Buddhist community, he announced a reward of 100 dinar for the head of every monk.

According to Ambedkar, a study of the history of India illustrates that religion is the source of power and with the support of religious doctrines, the priests hold sway over the common man often greater than king. Religion, social status, property, knowledge and all sources of power and authority which one man had were used to control the liberty of another one is predominant at one stage and the other at another stage. The struggle of the predominant faiths, i.e. Buddhism and Brahminism was a struggle for supremacy of one over another. In it Brahminism triumphed and gained in upper hand by systematically elevating the faith of the Brahminism and eliminating the faith of Buddhism.

C H A P T E R - II

'CASTES AND THE POSITION OF BRAHMINISM IN INDIAN POLITY

PART-I : The origin and growth of the Caste Institution.

India is generally known as the classic land of castes and creeds ¹ The caste system in India and the entire ideological, cultural and psychological superstructure built on it is extra-ordinary though and deep rooted. It is a peculiarity arising from the specifics of India's historical development and is not found in such shape anywhere else in the world. "Caste is said to be in air and even Muslims and Christians have not escaped infection".² There are approximately 6000 castes in India³ and there are probably as many theories of caste origin as there are writers on the subject."⁴

According to Ambedkar, caste problem is vast one, both theoretically and practically. Practically, it is an institution that portends tremendous consequences. It is a local problem, but capable of much wider mischief, for "as long as caste in India does exist, Hindus will hardly intermarry or have any social intercourse with outsiders; and if Hindus migrate to other regions on earth, Indian

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1. Mujumdar, D.N. Races and Cultures of India 'Asia Publishing House, 1961.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Baghel, Dr. B.S., 'Why the need of BAMEEF, D.S. and B.S.P.' Anil Printers D 702 Kamla Nagar, Agra-2, No date.
 4. Mujumdar D.N. op.cit.

caste would become a would problem".⁵ Theoretically, it has defied a great many scholars who have taken upon themselves, as a labour of love, to dig into its origin.

What are the castes and how they got originated, developed and spread throughout India? How the ideal of Chaturvarnya degenerated into thousands of the castes. These are some questions of social and political importance which Ambedker has answered in his own way.

According to Ambedker, the people of India form a homogenous whole. The various races of India occupying definite territories have more or less fused into one another and do possess cultural unity, which is the only criterion of homogenous population.⁶ Ambedker maintained that the caste is a parcelling of an already homogenous unit, and the explanation of the genesis of caste is the explanation of this process of parcelling .

According to Ambedker, caste in India means an artificial chopping off of the population into fixed and

5. Ketkar, Dr. S.V., 'The History of Caste in India' , Taylor and Carpenter, Ithaca, New York, 1909 p.4.

6. Ambedker B.R., 'Caste in India: Their Genesis, Mechanism and Development' Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVI, 1917.

definite units, each one prevented from fusing into another through the custom of endogamy.⁷ Therefore he concluded that Endogamy is the only characteristic that is peculiar to caste. He regarded an Endogamy as assence of caste.

About the custom of Exogamy and preservation of endogamy against exogamy, he said : "One of these primitive survivals, to which I particularly want to draw your attention is the custom of exogamy. The prevalence of exogamy in the primitive world is a fact too well known to need any explanation. With the growth of the history, however, exogamy has lost its efficacy, and excepting the nearest blood kins, there is usually no social bar restricting the field of marriage. But regarding the people of India the law of exogamy is a positive custom even today. Indian society still savours of the clan system, even though there are no clans; and this can be easily seen from law of matrimony. Which centres round the principle of exogamy, for it is not that sapindas (blood kins) cannot marry, but marriage even between

7. Ibid.

Sagotras (of the same class) is regarded as a sacrilege .⁸ He further said" it is no exaggeration to say that with the people of India, exogamy is creed and none dare infringe it, so much so that, in spite of endogamy of the caste within them, exogamy is strictly observed and that there are more rigorous penalties for violating exogamy. You will, therefore, readily see that with exogamy as the rule there could be no caste, for exogamy means fusion. But we have castes, consequently, in the final analysis creation of castes, so far as India is concerned, means the superposition of endogamy on exogamy. However in an originally axogamous population an easy working out of endogamy (which is equivalent to the creation of caste) is a grave problem and it is in the consideration of the means utilised for preservation of endogamy against exogamy that we may hope to find the solution of our problem".⁹ Thus Ambecker concluded that superposition of endogamy on exogamy means the creation of caste.

As a result of the maintaining superposition of endogamy, on exogamy, the problem of caste, then, ultimately resolves itself into one of repairing the disparity between the marriageable units of the two sexes within it. It gives rise the problem of vulgar theory of surplus and

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

surplus women. Customs like Sati, enforced widowhood has played a significant part in the institution of the caste because the surplus man and women created many problems to the particular caste. According to Ambedkar, the four means by which numerical disparity between the two sexes is conveniently maintained are : "(1) burning the widow with her diseased husband (ii) Compulsory widowhood. (3) Imposing celibacy on the widower and (4) weeding him to a girl not yet marriageable".¹⁰

Ambedkar said "Burning the widow and imposing celibacy on the widower are of doubtful service to the group in its endeavour to preserve its endogamy, all of them operate as a means, But means, as force, when liberated or set in motion create an end. What then is the end these means create ? They create and perpetuate endogamy, while caste and endogamy, according to our analysis of the various definition of caste, are one and same thing. Thus the existence of these means is identical with caste and caste involves . These means. This in my opinion, the general mechanism of a caste in a system of castes".¹¹

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

Ambedker remarked, "I am justified in holding that, whether regarded as ends or as means, Sati, enforced widowhood and girl marriage are customs that are primarily intended to solve the problem of the surplus man and surplus women in a caste and to maintain its endogamy".¹²

Having known the mechanism of the creation and preservation of caste in India, the further question as to its genesis naturally arises. Ambedker came to conclusion that origin of caste means the origin of the Mechanism for Endogamy.

Ambedker maintained that a caste is an enclosed class. A society is always composed of classes. Their basis may differ. They may be economic or intellectual or social, but an individual is always a member of a class. This is an universal fact and early Hindu society was not an exception to this rule. So to say, the class and caste are next door neighbours and it is only a span that separates the two.¹³

According Ambedker , the genesis of caste required first only to determine what was the class that raised "enclosure" around itself and made itself into a caste. According to him it was priestly class, namely Brahmins,

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

who occupied the highest place in the social hierarchy of the Hindu society.¹⁴ The Hindu society was composed of classes and the earliest known are the (1) Brahmins or the priestly class, (2) The Kshatriya or the military class ; (3) Vaishya, or the merchant class and (4) The shudra : or the artison or menial class . Particularly attention has to be paid to the fact that this was essentially a class system, in which individuals, when qualified could change their class, and therefore classes did change their personnel. At sometime in the history of the Hindus, the priestly class socially detached itself from the rest of the body of the people and through a closed door policy became a caste by itself. The other classes being subject to the law of social division of labour underwent differentiation, some into large and others into very minute groups. The Vaishya and Shudra classes were the original inchoate plasm, which formed the sources of numerous castes of today. As the military occupation does not very easily land itself to very minute sub-division, the Kschatriya class could have differentiated into soldiers and administrators.¹⁵

This subdivision of a society is quite natural .
But the unnatural thing about there sub-divisions is

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

that they have lost the open-door character of the system and have become self-enclosed units called castes. Ambedker posed a question: were they compelled to close their door and become endogamous, or did they close them of their own accord ? Ambedker submitted that there was a double line of answer : some closed the door : others found doors closed against them ¹⁶ Ambedker posed another question: why did there sub-division or classes - industrial, religious or otherwise became selfenclosed or endogamous. He answered that they did because Brahmins were so. Endogamy or closed door system, was the fashion in the Hindu society, and as it had orginated from the Brahmin caste. It was wholeheartedly imitated by by all the non-Brahmin sub-division or classes who in their turn became endogamous castes. It is the infection of imitation that caught all these sub-divisions on their onward march of diffentiation and has turned them into castes. The propensity to initiate is a deep-seated one in the human mind and need not be deemed an an inadequate explanation for the formation of these various castes in India. ¹⁷

In India , Brahmin is a semi-god and very nearly a demi-god. He sets up a mode and moulds the rest . His

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

prestige is unquestionable and is the foundation head of bliss and good"¹⁸. can such a being, idolized by scriptures and venerated by the priest ridden multitude, fail to protect his personality on the suppliant humanity ? why if the story be true, he is believed to be very end of the creation. Such a creature is worthy of more than mere imitation, but atleast of imitation and if he lives in an endogamous enclosure , should not the rest follow his example ? Ambedker believed that an Imitation is easy and invention difficult.¹⁹

Ambedker explained that those castes that are nearest to the Brahmins have imitated all the three customs namely (1) Sati (2) enforced widowhood and (3) girl marriage; and insist on their strict observance. There of those that are less near have imitated enforced widowhood and girl marriage ; others little off have imitated only girl marriage and those furthest off have imitated only the belief in the caste principle.²⁰

According to Ambedker, caste in the Singular number is an unreality. Castes exist only in the plural number. There is no such thing as a caste. There are always castes. He illustrated this : while making themselves

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

into a caste, the Brahmins, by virtue of this, created non-Brahmin caste, i.e. while closing themselves in, they closed others out. He illustrated it by giving example of India as a whole with its various communities designated by the various creeds to which they owe allegiance, to wit, the Hindus, Mohammedans, Jews, Christians and persis. Now barring the Hindus, the rest within themselves are non-caste communities. But with respect to each other they are castes. Again, if the first four enclose themselves, the persis are directly closed out, but indirectly closed in.²¹

By applying the same logic to the Hindu Society, Ambedker got another explanation of the "fissiparous" character of caste, as a consequence of the virtue of self-duplication that is inherent in it. Any innovation that seriously antagonises the ethical, religious and social code of the caste is not likely tolerated by the caste, and the recalcitrant members of a caste are in danger of being thrown out of the caste, and left to their own fate without having the alternative of being admitted into or absorbed by other castes, caste rules are inexorable and they do not wait to make nice distinctions between kinds of offence. Innovation may be of

21. Ibid.

any kind, but all kinds will suffer the same penalty. A noble way of thinking will create a new caste, for the old ones will not tolerate it.²² The noxious thinker respectively called Guru (Prophet) suffers the same fate as the singers in illegitimate love. The former creates a caste of the nature of religious sect and the latter a type of mixed caste²³, castes have no mercy for a sinner who has the courage to violate the code. The penalty is excommunication and the result is a new caste.²⁴ Castes are enclosed units and it is their conspiracy with clear conscience that compels the excommunicated to make themselves into a caste. The logic of this upsurge circumstance is merciless, and it is in obedience to its force that some unfortunate groups find themselves enclosed, because others in enclosing, themselves have closed them out, with the result that new group formed on any basis (obnoxious to the caste rules) by a mechanical law are constantly being converted into castes to be widening multiplicity.²⁵ Thus, in this way the process of caste formation in India has remained continued resulting in a large number of castes of today.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

Ambedker was of the opinion that Manu ancient Hindu law giver, did not give the law of caste and that he could not do so but he was at the sametime an upholder of the caste system by providing a philosophy of superiority of one class over the other classes. He said "one thing I want to impress upon you is that Manu did not give the law of caste and that he could not do so ; castes existed long before Manu, He was an upholder of it and therefore philosophised about, but certeninly he was not, and could ordain the present order of Hindu society. His work ended with the codification of existing caste rules and preaching of caste Dharma. The spread and growth of caste system is too giguntic task to be achieved by the power of cunning of an indivisual of a class."²⁶ He bitterly criticised Manu and said "he was certainly a audacious person, must have been a dare devil fellow and the humanity that accepted his dispensation must be a humanity quite different from the one we are acquainted with". He further said "I may seem hard on Manu, but I am sure my force is not strong enough to kill his ghost . He lines like a disembodied sprit and is appealed to , and I am afraid will yet long live."²⁷

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

Ambedker rejected the idea that Brahmins imposed caste system on Non-Brahmins. He said "The Brahmins may have been guilty of many things, and I dare say they were but the imposing of caste system on the non-Brahmin Population was beyond their mettle. They may have helped the process by their glib philosophy but they certainly could not push their scheme beyond their own confines".²⁸

He also repudiated the faith of orthodox Hindus that the Hindu society was somehow moulded into the framework of the caste-system and that it is an organisation consciously created by the Shastras²⁹.

According to Western Scholars, the nuclei, round which have "formed" The various castes in India, are : (1) occupation ; (ii) Survival of tribal organizations etc. (iii) The rise of new belief ; (iv) cross-breeding and (v) migration.

Commenting on these explanations of western scholars of formation of various castes, he said "the question may be asked whether these nuclei do not exist in other

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

societies and whether they are peculiar to India. If they are not peculiar to India, but are common to the world, why is it that they did not "form" caste on other parts of this planet ? Is it because those parts are holier than the land of vedas, or that the professors are mistaken ? I am afraid that the latter is the truth."³⁰

Thus, Ambedker criticised and rejected the theories developed on the above mentioned bases, by the writers like Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Mr. Nesfield, Mr. Senart and Sir H. Risley etc. He also criticised european students of caste for their unduly emphasizing the role of colour in the caste system. He commented : "Themselves impregnated by colour prejudices, they very readily imagined it to be the chief factor in the caste problem".³¹ Ambedker was of opinion that Dr. Ketkar is correct when he insist that All the princes whether they belonged to the so-called Aryan race, or the so-called Dravidian race, were Aryas. Whether a tribe or a family was racially Aryan or Dravidian was a question which never troubled the people of India , untill foreign scholars

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

came in and began to draw line . The colour of the skin had long ceased to be a matter of importance.³²

After an exhaustive and deep study of caste problem. Ambedker drew following fourmain points from it : "(1) That in spite of the composite make-up of the Hindu population, there is a deep cultural unity, (2) That caste is a parcelling into bits of a larger cultural unit ; (3) That there was one caste to start with and (4) That classes have become casts through imitation and excommunication."³³

As it is contended that object of the caste was to preserve purity of race and purety of blood but Ambedker said that there was a mixture of all races in all parts of the world. According to him caste could not be said to have grown as a means of preventing the admixture of the races or as a means of maintaining purity of blood. In this connection Dr. B.R. Bhandarker also says", There is hardly a class or caste in India

32. Ketker, Dr. S.V. op.cit.

33. Ambedker B.R. op.cit.

which has no foreign stain in it. There is an admixture of alien blood not only among the warrior class- the Rajputs- and Marathas but also among the Brahmins, who were under the happy delusion that they are free from all foreign element".³⁴

Thus, we see that Ambedker's Analysis is new one and very much different from that of so many other scholars. He brought to bear on his analysis of the Hindu society his rational and objective approach to various aspects of it. Though a victim of caste cruelty yet he did not allow himself to be carried away by passions of enmity or hatred. He always took every care to follow that what he regarded as right path of investigation.

34. Bhandarker, Dr. B.R. 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population' Indian, Antiquary, January 1911.

PART-II - " THE POSITION AND ROLE OF BRAHMINISM"

Through out his life, B.R. Ambedker attacked vehemently the Brahminism and capitalism, another aspect of Brahminism, According to him, Brahminism and capitalism were the mainprops of British colonialism in India. He was very clear about concept of Brahminism. He described it as the "negation of the spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity which has percolated all classes. He said "By Brahminism I do not mean the power, privileges, and interests of the Brahmins as a community....By Brahminism I mean the negation of the spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity. In that sense it is rampant in all classes and is not confined to Brahmins alone though they have been its originators. The effects of Brahminism were not confined to social rights such as interdining and intermarrying. It also denied civic rights. So Omniscent is Brahminism that it even affects the ____ field of economic opportunities".¹ He called the philosophy of Brahminism as the techniques of suppression and enumerated the six principles of Brahminism.^{1a} According to him inequality was the official doctrine of Brahminism.

1. 'The Times of India' February 14, 1938.

1a. See Supra, Chap. 1, p.

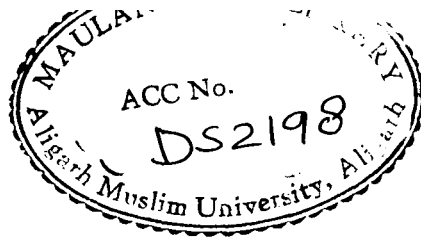
It was the bounden duty of Brahminism to suppress the lower classes. Brahmins declared a acquisition of education by lower classes a crime. They also proclaimed the disarmament of the shudras and untouchables as the law. No intellectual class had invented such a philosophy to keep his uneducated countrymen in a perpetual state of ignorance and poverty as the Brahmins have done in India². According to him. The whole of the Poor, starving, illiterate India was mortgaged to the Bania. The Brahmins enslaved the mind, and the Bania enslaved the body; between them they divided the spoils which belonged to the governing class.³

Ambedker was of the opinion that Brahmins were learned but not intellectual. They never produced a voltaire .Brahmins were leaders of society and scholarship was confined to them. He remarked that Brahminism being a creation of their fore fathers, the Brahmins were interested in defending the sacred vedas by suppressing the truth, and by defending them, they defended their rights and authority. He maintained that because of these things, the Brahmins were unable to carry on independly research on the Sacred books.⁴

2. Ambedker, B.R., What Congress and Gandhi op.cit.

3. Ibid.

4. Ambedker, B.R., Who were Shudras op.cit.



He said that Hindu scriptures were almost entirely the creation of Brahmins, whose sole object was to sustain their superiority and privileges. According to him, Brahmin scholars sought to defend them even at the cost of Truth, and avoided that which could under mine their authority.⁵ As regards the Puranas and Shastras, Ambedker deemed them a treasure trove of sharp practices which the Brahmins employed to befoul, beguile and swindle the common mass of the poor, illiterate and superstitious Hindus.⁶

Religion was interwoven with the Hindu system of law. The caste systems was regarded as divinely ordained and had religious sanction.⁷ The Brahmins were considered as the gods on the earth. Brahmins acquired special privileges for them such as freedom from being killed^{7a} Special rights for higher classes and disabilities for the lower ones were a characteristic feature of the Indian society.⁸ Ambedker listed the disabilities of the untouchables^{8a}. The infallibility and sacredness of vedas, the non-changeable and unalterable social organisation of

5. Kuber W.N. Dr. Ambedker- A critical Study p.57.

6. Ambedker B.R. Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah p.30.

7. O'Malley, L.S.S. Modern India and the West, Oxford University Press, London, 1941 p.2.

7a. See Supra, Chap.1 p..

8. Ghurye, G.S., "Caste and class in India", popular Book Depot, Bombay, IIInd Edition, 1957.

8a. See Supra Chap. 1. p...

the chaturvanya system made untouchables socially degenerated, religiously ostracized, politically suppressed, economically impoverished, and indefinitely excluded from educational and cultural opportunities. They were made slaves. They were condemned to be lowly. Ambedker discovered four conclusions as to why the untouchables could not find a way of escape^{8b}. He gave a clear picture about the nature of the cruelty of the caste. Hindus towards the untouchables. He writes", For the ills which the untouchables are suffering, if they are not as much advertised as those of Jews, are not less real. Nor are the means and methods of suppression used by the Hindus against untouchables less effective because they are less bloody than the ways which the Nazis have adopted against the Jews . The anti-semitism of Nazis against the Jews is not different in ideology and in effect from the sanatanism of the Hindus against the untouchables".⁹ He also gives a very pitiable and deplorable conditions of untouchables of Poona ^{9a}. While addressing a gathering of untouchables, he said, "My heart breaks to see the pitiable sight

8b. See Supra Chap. 1 p....

9. Ambedker B.R. Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the untouchables Thacker & Co. Bombay 1943.

9a. See Supra Chap. 3 - p.....

of your faces and hear your sad voices.... why did you not perish in prenatal stage indeed ? Why do you worsen and Sadden the picture of the Sorrows, poverty, slavery and burdens of world with your deplorable, dispicable, detestable and miserable life? You had better died and relieved this world. ...¹⁰ During his talks with Gandhi, he asked, "How can I call this land my homeland and this religion my own wherein we are treated worse than cats and dogs, Wherein we cannot get water to drink". Because of such a situation, he said" If I do any disservice to this country, it would not be a sin and If any harm does not come to this country, it may be due to my conscience."¹¹

Under the Hindu law a Brahmin enjoyed the the benefits of the clergy. The East India Company allowed him this privilege till 1917. The Brahmin systematically preyed on society and profiteered in religion. Ambedker also criticised the policy of the British not to antagonise the upper castes^{11a}.

According to Ambedker, India was not conquered by the British but by the Indians for the British.¹² Mahars, one of the untouchable castes of Maharashtra to which Ambedker belonged, first came into contact with the Europeans . The British recruited them into the British Army. They defeated the Peshwa forces in 1818.¹³ The

10. Keer D. Dr. Ambedker: Life and Mission popular Bombay, 1961.

11. Ibid. 11a. See Infra chap 3p.....

12. Ambedker B.R. The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India, P. S. King (London), 1923.

13. Ibid.

Covegaon pillar near poona commemorates the solidiers of the British Army who fell during the 1818 battle with the Peshwa forces . Of the 49 names of the 2nd /1st regiment recorded there, 22 are Mahars(identifiable by the Nak ending of the names, as designed for Mahars).¹⁴ The British used them against the native rulers.¹⁵ During the world war need for troops plus the presence of Ambedker in the viceroy's cabinet resulted in the raising of a Mahar regiment known as the Mahar Machine Gun Regiment ¹⁶. Ambedker was of the view that our country fell prey to the foreigners due to the theory of Brahmanism. Shudras and untouchables were not allowed to join the army. The imperialist rule, whether it was the British or Mughals in India Pursued the Policy of non-interference in social and religious matters.

According to Ambedker, Brahminism and democracy were opposed to each other, If democracy is needed, then chaturvarnya must ended. He said", the root of untouchability is the caste system ; the root of the caste system is religion attached to varnashram, and the root of varnashram is Brahmanical religion, and the root of Brahminical religion is authoritarianism or political power "¹⁷ As the sacred

14. Cadella, Sir Patrick, History of the Bombay Army, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938, pp.154-55.

15. Kuber W.N. Dr. Ambedker -A critical Study, Peoples ' Publishing House , New Delhi, 1973.

16. Thorat S.F.O. Major General , The Regimental History of Mahar M.G. (Machine Gun) Regiment, Dehradun, The Army Press, 1954.

17. Speech by Ambedker in Depressed classes Bonferance, 1944 (Ambedker Jayanti Number).

books of Brahminism do not contain the responsibility, do not permit any change in the social organization, do not permeate the sense of social purpose and do not allow the give and take policy, i.e. social endosmosis in the social life of the people of India, Ambedker strongly refuted their authority and pleaded for their rejection¹⁸

Ambedker was not against the very existence of Hinduism and Hindu leaders, but was against its wrong ideals and the Tenacity with which Hindu leaders adhered to them. It was wrong to think that he wanted to destroy Hinduism. His main concern was to reform and reconstruct it. He said "Hindu society should be reorganised on two main principles : equality and the absence of the caste system"¹⁹ He was also "misunderstood" as a foe of Brahmins. He was, however, against Brahminism and not against Brahmins personally.²⁰

As regards the position of Brahminism in the Indian polity, it had its dominance in most of the fields- social, political, economic and educational. According to Ambedker, the legislature, executive and Judiciary were

18. Lokraiya, Dr. Ambedkar special Number, April 16, 1981, p.17.

19. Ambedker B.R. 'Annihilation of caste'

20. Lokraiya op.cit. p. 21.

completely controlled by Brahminism^{20a}. According to him, the Indian administration was completely controlled by the caste-Hindus. The position of power and authority was concentrated in the hands of the Upper strata of society. During the days of the British, the two deliberately manoeuvred to exclude the Shudras and the untouchables from the Army and, education and from acquiring property.² Ambedker observed that the Brahmin and the Bania protected their privilege and position of power and authority at the cost of the poor people. Writing about the attitude of the governing classes of India (the Brahmin and the Bania), in 1945-46, towards the weaker sections of the people regarding reservation policy, he said:

"The argument used by governing classes to oppose the demands of service classes (The SC and STD classes), for reservation is based on the doctrine of efficiency But it can^{not} be right from the point of view of servile classes ? Could the 'best' German be 'best' for the French ? Could the 'best' Turk be 'best' for the Greeks? could the 'best' pole be regarded 'best' for the Jews ?²²

20a. See infra Chap 3. pp...

21. Lokrajya op.cit p.18.

22. Ambedker B.R. What Congress and Gandhi op.cit. p.234.

As regards the economic dominance of Brahminism in Indian Polity , Ambedker Says "The Hindus own every thing. They own the land in this country"^{22a}. They control trade and they also own the state. Every source of revenue and profit is controlled by them. Other communities and particularly the untouchables are hewers of wood and drawers of water. The social system helps the Hindus to have a monopoly of every thing."²³ The Hindu Society has made sure to bolt every possible door so as not to allow untouchables any opportunity to rise in the scale of life. Ambedker described untouchability as a system of uncontrolled economic exploitation.^{23a} In the rural areas, untouchables, according to Ambedker were a body of land labours. Who were totally dependent on the caste Hindus.^{23b} In spite to reservation and other reform measures of the government, Andre Bettrille observes, "The Harijans and Adivasis are almost every where prevented by their insecure position from initiating any kind of major economic change "²⁴ According to Ambedker , the social bycost and economic power were two important weapons in the hands of upper castes To be used against the untouchables if they made any effort for progress

22a. See infra chap. 3 pp.

23. Ambedker B.R. 'Mr. Gandhi and Emancipation of Untouchables.

23a. See infra chap. 4 p....

23b. See infra Chap. 3 p....

24. Andre Bettrille, Caste, Old and New Asia Publishing House (Bombay) 1969, p.143.

During the medieval period an anti-Brahminism Movement was started by the Shudra and untouchable Sants such as Namdev, Raidas, Malook Das, Kabir, etc. It fought for equality, liberty, fraternity and faith in one God. It became a mass movement and was known as Bhakti Movement. Goswami Tulsidas, a Brahmin sant joined it and became successful in establishing the supremacy of Brahminism by suppressing it.

There was also another anti-Brahminism movement led by Jiyotiva Phoolley. It flourished during second and third decades of this century. Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur was an active supporter of this movement. This movement was based on the ideology of Phoolley²⁵. The non Brahmin leaders regarded the Brahmins as enemies of the nation.²⁶ Javalker "Published a Pamphlet named " Enemies of the nation" Ambedker remarked that it was "a good book written in bad taste". A suit was filled against non-Brahmin leaders Jedhe, Javalker and Bagade. Ambedker defended the accused and they were set free.²⁷ This movement also fell prey to Brahminism and as a result failed. After analyzing the causes, Ambedker said, Many of the non-Brahmin Partymen

25. Keer, C. Mahatma Jyotirao Phule, Father of Our Social Revolution, Bombay popular Prakashan 1964.

26. Kuber, W.N. Cp.cit. p. 60.

27. Ibid. p. 60

tried to become second class Brahmins, they have not abandoned Brahminism. They are holding it as an ideal.²⁸ He further said, "you people always abuse Brahmins; but you never imitate their virtues. Brahmins change their ideas according to the exigencies of the times . They pursue knowledge and money.... Remember ! Brahmins have brains within brains. If you want to fight the Brahmins, you must be more intelligent than them . You do not unite, instead you fight among yourselves and chew the poison pills given by the Brahmins that Mahars are inferior to Marathas".²⁹ This was the reason why untouchable could not become one with Marathas.

Besides the religious, social, political, economic dominance of Brahminism in the Indian Polity, it suppressed successfully the fate of scheduled caste, scheduled tribes, other backward communities (52%) and Minorities. To Ambedker, Gandhi was the apostle of Brahminism .³⁰ Ambedker approached the British Parliament to grant reservation for all the backward classes of India.³¹

28. Keer, P, Ambedker , Life and Mission.

29. Kuber W.N. op.cit p.63.

30. Ibid. p.81.

31. Baghel Dr. B.S. op.cit. p.3.

In 1927, the Simon Commission came to India to investigate the situation of backward classes as put before them by Ambedker. The Simon Commission was opposed by Gandhi and other Congress leaders. Simon Commission continued to make investigation upto 1929. Gandhi and other leaders of the Congress supported other backward classes and asked them not to follow an untouchable leader like Dr. Ambedker. They sided with Patel a leader of other backward communities.³² As a result, C.B.C. could not get constitutional safeguards for them. Brahminism remained successful in virtually disenfranchising the SC and ST communities as they were not able to send their independent representatives to legislatures.^{32a} The same was the case with the minorities. The economic inequalities in India continued as socialism could not be made a part of the constitution as desired by Ambedker. Brahminism successfully maintained the social inequalities and the constitution did not abolish the caste system. Uniform civil code was not implemented as desired by Ambedker. Brahminism had always cooked the population census and as a result, reduced the number of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.³³ Brahminism

32. Ibid.

32a. See Infra chap 3. pp....

33. See Infra chap. 3 pp....

has its dominant position in the services.^{33a} The Hindu Code Bill introduced by Ambedker could not be passed due to strong opposition by Brahminism.³⁴ Untouchables could not have their real representation in the Executive³⁴ It was Brahminism which compelled Ambedker for conversion of religion.³⁵ It was the effect of Brahminism on the minds of Indian historians such as R.C. Majumdar etc who throughout in their writings ignored the role of Ambedker in the National Movement.³⁶ In brief, as long as there remained the domination of Brahminism in Indian Polity, there could not exist a true democracy as desired by Ambedker.

33 a. See Infra chap 3 pp.....

34. Kuber W.N. op.cit p.66

34a. See Infra chap.4- p.....

35. Jatav.D.R. Dr. Ambedker's role in National Movement
Buddha Shiksha Sammelan, 1979.

36. Kamble J.R. Pursuit of Equality in Indian History
National Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985.

PART-I- Casteism and Indian Parliamentary Democracy

According to Dr. Ambedkar, democracy always changed its form.¹ He analysed the application of democracy to India on the basis of prevailing social and economic conditions in India. According to him, Indian Democracy was quite different from American Democracy. He believed that the Democracy was not always the same, even, in the same country. English Democracy before and after 1688 was different. He stressed the point that democracy always changed in purpose also.²

Ambedkar criticised the Western writers who could not recognise the social and economic contradictions in life of Indian society, such as, the position of the governing class of India and its intention towards servile classes, the *raison d'être* of the demands of the servile classes for constituting safeguards, and relation of governing classes to the congress. He said: "(1) They omit to take into account the incontrovertible fact that in every country there is a governing class. (2) They fail to realize that the existence of a governing class is inconsistent with democracy and self government. (3) Self-government and democracy become real when the governing class loses its power to capture the power to govern (4) The governing class may be so well entrenched that the servile classes will need other safeguards besides adult suffrage to achieve the same end. (5) social outlook and social philosophy of the

1. Kuber, W.N., Dr. Ambedkar; A critical Study ; People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1973 p. 206.

2. Ibid.

governing class is not taken into account."³

Ambedker viewed Grote's notions about freedom, self-government and Democracy as fallacious and misleading. He writes: "For, words such as society, nation and country are amorphous if not ambiguous terms. There is no gain saying that 'nation' though one word means many classes. Philosophically, it may be possible to consider a nation as unit but sociologically it cannot but be regarded as consisting of many classes and freedom of the nation, if it is to be a reality, must vouch-safe the freedom of the different classes comprising in it, particularly of those who are treated as servile classes".⁴ If there was any cause of freedom in the nationalist struggle for independence it was the cause of the untouchables. The cause, as pursued by the Hindus as well as Muslims, was not the cause of freedom. Theirs was a struggle for power as distinguished from political freedom⁵. Thus, according to Ambedker, a mere facade of democracy would not achieve the purpose of democracy, which should be the welfare of the whole people.

By "democracy" Ambedker refers to fundamental changes in the social and economic life of the people and

3. Ambedker B.R. Pakistan or Partition of India.

4. Das, Bhagwan, Thus spoke Ambedker, Bheem Patrika Publication, Jullundur, 1963, Vol. I.

5. Ambedker B.R. M.Gandhi and Emancipation of untouchables.

acceptance of those changes by the people without resorting to disputes and bloodshed.⁶ He desired to remove the contractions created by economic and social inequalities. He wanted to establish the principle of one man, one vote and one vote one value not only in political life of India but also in social and economic life. In other words he wanted political democracy to be accompanied by social democracy. He was conscious of the social and economic inequalities which corrode the national consciousness of the Indian people. He said "We must make our political democracy as social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy"⁷.

Ambedker was of the opinion that freedom of a country does not usually mean the freedom of the people in that country. The influence and power of the state may be concentrated in a particular class of the people. Before the promulgation of the Indian constitution, the concept of the status of a particular class of people was based on birth and not on the capabilities and calibre of the people. The very vitals of the Indian social life

6. Speech delivered by Dr. B.R. Ambedker before the members of the Poona District Law Library on 22, December 1952; quoted in Dr. Ambedker College Magazine, Mahad, 1962.

7. Constitutional Assembly Debates (25-11-1949) Vol. XI, p.972.

had been eaten by the religious dogmas and the society was based on graded inequality. That was one of the fundamental causes why India was frequently invaded and captured by aliens. He writes "It is common experience that certain names become associated with certain notions and sentiments, which determine a person's attitude towards men and things. The names, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra, are names which are associated with definite and fixed notion in the minds of every Hindu. That notion is that of a hierarchy based on birth. So long as these names continue, Hindus will continue to think of the Brahmin, Kshatriya, vaishya and Shudra as hierarchical divisions of high and low, based on birth, and act accordingly.⁸

The study of Indian polity shows that the power in the society was wielded by the influential class, that is, the Brahmins and a share in the administration of the country was denied to ^{people} belonging to other castes. In case of untouchables, they were not only denied a share in the administration of the country but they were not allowed to enjoy even civil and political rights. Therefore, the atmosphere was uncongenial for the growth of democratic values. There was no responsibility on the part of the

8. Ambedkar B.R., 'Annihilation of — caste'.

ruling class for removing the grievances of the suppressed lot of the Hindu people. Therefore, it was necessary to effect structural changes in the socio-political apparatus as demanded by the ideals of the liberty, equality and fraternity. Democracy, Ambedker repeatedly asserted is not merely a form of government but is primarily and essentially a mode of associated living which enables each human being to unfold his or her limitless potentialities to the maximum possible extent without in anyway jeopardising the equally legitimate interests and aspirations of the other.

According to Ambedker, as the social structure of Hindu society is different, therefore, indian political structure should also be different . He writes, "The caste system which is infested with the spirit of isolation and in fact it makes isolation of one caste from another a matter of virtue. There is isolation in the class system but it does not make isolation a virtue nor does it prohibit social intercourse. The class system , it is true produces groups. But they are not akin to caste groups. The groups in the class system are in their mutual relations definitely and positively anti-social. If this analysis is true then there can be no denying the fact that the

social structure of Hindu society is different and consequently its political structure must be different.⁹

Ambedker wanted to bring about changes in the society by employing right means for the realization of the desired aims. But he did not believe in destroying the social order without at the same time offering something better to take its place. A calculated, gradual revolution in the thinking of men, he believed, would usher in necessary changes aimed at the reconstruction of the society on the basis of the cherished values of liberty, equality and fraternity . Only in an intergrated society can the democratic values function and flourish- a society in which social intelligence combines with social efficiency in order to protect and promote social interests. He believed that social reform was pracedent to political reform.¹⁰

Ambedker felt it necessary to establish a correlation between the political constitution and social institutions of India if democracy was to become real and

9. Ambedker B.R. "Mr. Gandhi and The Emancipation of the untouchables" : Thacker & Co. Ltd. (Bombay) 1943.

10. Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedker : writting and Speeches; Vol. I, Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay 1979.

meaningful. According to him, democracy is a mode of associated living. He regarded that the roots of democracy were to be found in social relationship, in terms of associated life between the people who formed society. Poverty, illiteracy and caste distinctions were positive dangers to Democracy.¹¹ Dr. Ambedker said "It needs no argument to show that political structure rests on the social structure. In deed the social structure has a profound effect on the political structure . It may modify its working. It may nullify it or it may even make a mockery of it".¹²

Ambedker expected the parliamentary executive to serve the following purposes :

- "(1) To prevent the majority from forming a government without giving any opportunity to the minorities to have a say in the matter.
- (ii) To prevent the majority from having exclusive control over administration and thereby make the tyranny of the minority by the majority possible.
- (iii) To prevent the inclusion by the majority party in the Executive, Representatives of the minorities who have no confidence of the minorities .

11. Keer D. Dr. Ambedker, Life and Mission.

12. Ambedker B.R. 'Thoughts on Linguistic States :
Krishna Press, Bombay, 1955.

- (iv) To provide a stable executive necessary for good and efficient administration.¹³

According to Ambedkar the majority in India is a communal majority. No matter what social and political programme it may have, the majority will retain its character of being a communal majority. Nothing can alter this fact. He analysed the consequences of applying the British type of executive to India: "it would result in permanently vesting executive power in a communal majority; secondly it would make the majority community a governing class and minority community a subject race. It would mean that the communal majority will be free to run the administration according to its own ideas of what is good for the minorities. Such a state of affairs could not be called democracy. It will, have to be called imperialism".¹⁴

Ambedkar believed that "The soul of Democracy is the doctrine of one man, one value. Unfortunately, democracy has attempted to give effect to this doctrine only so far as the political structure is concerned by adopting the rule of one man, one vote which is supposed to transmute into fact the doctrine of one man one value. It has left the economic structure to take the shape given

13. Ambedkar B.R., States and Minorities: Thacker & Co. Ltd. Bombay, 1947.

14. Ibid.

to it by those who are in position to mould it" .¹⁵

Under the parliamentary form of government, according to Ambedker every government shall be on the anvil, both in its daily affairs and also at the end of certain period when voters and the electorate will be given an opportunity to assess the work done by the Government. As to the question why political democracy has been established in the constitution, he answered: "we do not want to instal by any means whatsoever a perpetual dictatorship of any particular body of people.... while we have established political democracy, it is also the desire that we should lay down as our ideal economic democracy. We do not want merely to lay down a mechanism to enable people to come and capture power. The constitution also wishes to lay down an ideal before those who would be forming the government. That ideal is economic democracy where by so far as I am concerned I understand to mean one man one value".¹⁶ According to him, socialism and Democracy can never go together .¹⁷ Therefore he wanted to establish state socialism not through dictatorship but through political democracy.

15. Ibid.

16. Markandan, K.C., 'Directive Principles in the Indian Constitution' Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1966.

17. Thengdee, D. Dr. Babashaheb Ambedker Lokhit Prakashan Lucknow, 1980. p.15.

The ailments of the Political democracy and dictatorship are the rule of majority with a suffering minority and curtailment of Individual liberty respectively and these would best be solved by introducing parliamentary democracy based on state socialism and supported by the constitutional law so that it will be beyond the reach of a parliamentary majority to suspend, amend or abrogate it .¹⁸ To him in anarchy and dictatorship liberty is lost .¹⁹

According to Dr. Ambedker, social democracy involves two things : an attitude of mind, an attitude of respect and equality towards their fellows and a social organization free from rigid social barriers. To him, democracy was in-compatible and inconsistent with isolation and exclusiveness resulting in the distinction between the privileged and unprivileged. He wanted high political objectives but they must keep harmony with social aims. He regarded democracy as both a social ideal and a political method.

According to him, political democracy vested on four premises : "(1) The Individual is an end in himself; (ii) The Individual has certain in-alienable rights which must be guaranteed to him by the constitution ; (iii) The Individual shall not be required to relinquish any of his

18. Ambedker B.R. States and Minorities .

19. Ambedker B.R., Buddha And His Dhamma ' Siddharth (Bombay), 1959.

constitutional rights as a condition precedent to the receipt of a privilege ; (iv) The state shall not delegate powers to private persons to govern others."²⁰

He said , "Any one who studies the working of the ~~the~~ system of social economy based on private enterprise and pursuit of a personal gain will realize how it undermines, if it does not actually violate, the last two premises on which Democracy rests . How many have to relinquish their constitutional rights in order to gain their living ? How many have to subject themselves to be governed by private employers?"²¹

According to Ambedker, law must be the same for all and in the interest of all if must be social and human, i.e. universal in its effect.²² Dr. Ambedker's thoughts on constitutional law are based on the dignity of mankind. It has five fundamental human elements: (i) It is rule in public interest; (ii) It is not an arbitrary force; (iii) It is secular law applicable to all; (iv) It is not divinely inspired, but it is man-inspired ; (v) It can be changed, according to time and need.

20. Ibid

21. Ibid.

22. Ambedker, B.R., Parliamentary Democracy, (Hon. Secretary Poona District Laws Library, Poon, 1952) p.3.

Ambedkar regarded democracy as a way of life. It involved rational empiricism, emphasis on the Individual, the Instrumental nature of the state, voluntarism, the law behind the law, nobility of means, discussion and consent, absence of perpetual rule, and basic equality in all human relations. He held that a democratic way of life could be conceived without an ideal society. According to him, "An ideal society should be mobile, should be full of channels for conveying a change taking place in one part to other parts. In an ideal society there should be many interests consciously communitated. and shared . In other words, there must be social endomosis".²³

According to Dr.B.R. Ambedkar certain political rights alone did not constitute the basis of the democracy. sociability and morality were the important elements of his concept of democracy. The key note of his concept of democracy as a way of life was the necessity for the participation of every human being in the formation of social, economic and political values that regulated the living men and kept them together. The fundamental elements of his concept of democracy, in short, were liberty, equality, fraternity, reason, human experience, the rule of law, natural rights and an emphasis on the individual in social relationships.

23. Constituent Assembly Debates ,vol.XI, p.979.

Ambedker suggested the following essential devices to maintain democracy.

(i) Constitutional methods.

(ii) Not to lay liberties at the feet of a powerful men.

(iii) to make a political democracy a social and economic democracy.

He regarded Bhakti in religion a road to salvation of the soul but in politics Bhakti or hero-worship was a sure road to degeneration and to eventual dictatorship.²⁴

To him, democracy meant a way of life which recognised liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. They formed a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other was to defeat the very purpose of democracy. He said "in politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality."²⁵ He urged to remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or "else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy".²⁶ The constitution of India has laid down the idea of economic democracy. To him, the directive principles had a great value, for they laid down that "our ideal is economic democracy".²⁷ According to

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

him, caste system has direct association with land .
Therefore he wanted nationalisation of land and
mechanisation of agriculture.

Elucidating the concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity he said "parliamentary democracy is a form of government in which function of the people has come to be to vote for their masters and leave them to rule .Such a scheme of government in the opinion of labour is a travesty of government by the people, labour wants government which is government by the people in name as well as in fact. Secondly, liberty as conceived by labour includes the rights to equal opportunity and duty of the state to provide the fullest facilities for growth to every individual according to his needs.

"Labour wants equality, By equality labour means abolition of privileges of every kind in law, in civil services in the army, taxation, in trade and in Industry. in fact the abolition of all processes which lead to inequality.

"Labour wants fraternity, by fraternity it means an all pervading sense of human brotherhood, unifying all classes and all nations, with peace on earth and good

will towards man as its motto"²⁸ There are labour's ideals. They constitute the New order, the establishment of which alone can save humanity from destruction.

According to Ambedker , there are three feature of a parliamentary government.

- (1) Negation of hereditary rule. Hereditary rule had no sanction in the parliamentary system of government.
- (ii) The laws were to be made by the representatives of the people in the parliament.
- (iii) All legislatures were to go back to the people and obtain fresh renewal of their confidence .

During the freedom movement, he always demanded good self government efficiently discharging its duties of service and sacrifice. He remarked, "efficiency combined with selfish class interests in stead of producing good government , is far more likely to become a mere engine of suppression of the surville classes "²⁹ A good government, according to him, could be judged by its impartiality and justice, clean administration and physical facilities to the people, which raised the social, economic political, cultural and spiritual standard of masses. One of the essentials of a good government was that it should

28. Indian information, 1st January 1943 (Govt. of India.)

29. Ambedker B.R., What Congress and Gandhi Have done to Untouchables.

rise above all class considerations and conflicts. He looked for the cooperation of the people for the success of the government. He said that democracy did not grow everywhere, it must be cultivated. His thoughts on parliamentary democracy were quite in keeping with the times. He was of the opinion that parliamentary democracy rests on two fulcrums: (i) An opposition (ii) free and fair election.³⁰ Therefore According to him, the rule of a single party is fatal to popular government. Infact it is negation of popular government. He remarked, "To have popular government run by a single party is to let democracy become a mere form for despotism to play its part from behind it". He further criticised, "democracy, does not cease to be despotism because it is elective. The real guarantee against despotism is to confront it with the possibility of its dethronement of its being laid low, of its being superseded by a rival party."³¹ To him, despotism, whether native or foreign, was antithetical of freedom. One party government meant Totalitarianism that robbed man of his basic liberty and indivisuality.³² He wanted the theory of Checks and

30. Future of Parliamentary Democracy: Speech of Ambedker in D.A.V. College, Jullundar City, 28 Oct. 1951.

31. Ambedker B.R., Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah.

32. Kuber W.N. Dr. Ambedker ; A Critical Study.

balances to be applied in Indian democracy on American line. His whole theory of democratic (political) organisation may be characterised as " a theory of checks and balance". Ambedker summarised the conditions precedent to the successful working of democracy. They are as follow :

- (i) There should not be glaring inequalities in society, i.e. privileges for one class ;
- (ii) The existence of an opposition ;
- (iii) equality in law and administration ;
- (iv) observance of constitutional morality ;
- (v) No tyranny of the majority;
- (vi) moral order of society and (vii) Public conscience.

Ambedker's aim was to get justice and freedom for the people. He therefore, conceived the state as an organisation the aim of which was :

- "(i) To maintain the right of every subject to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness and to free speech and free exercise of religion.
 - (ii) To remove social, political and economic inequality by providing better opportunities to the submersed classes.
 - (iii) To make it possible for every subject to enjoy freedom from want and freedom from fear"³³.
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33. Ambedker B.R. 'States and Minorities'.

The state had to serve the interests of man and society as a servant and not as a master. So he stood for people's freedom and rights in post independence India. He attached more importance to the eternal struggle of man for freedom. To him, The true freedom of man was not merely political. It was also social, economic, intellectual and spiritual. According to him a good state was that which guaranteed protection against persecution of one community by another and also against internal disturbances, violence and disorder in any part of its territory.³⁴

Ambedker was of the opinion that caste and democracy would never go hand in hand. The caste system perpetuates the communal majority in stead of political majority. Naturally the caste system when supported by language creates a majority community which ultimately works against democracy.³⁵ There are always feuds and conspiracies of caste Hindus to enslave the weaker sections.

Ambedker was prepared to accept the majority rule even though, the majority in India were illiterate and ignorant. He preferred the introduction of adult

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

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franchise among a predominantly illiterate people .

According to him, the sense of temperament of nationhood was to be created through the observance of constitutional morality so that any fissiparous tendency, parochial and sectarian narrow mindedness generated by uncritical loyalty to political parties, caste and creeds can be avoided. He took following two factors into consideration to ensure the observance of constitutional morality: (i) The form of administration has a close connection with the form of the constitution. The form of the administration must be appropriate to and in consonance with the form of the constitution. (ii) That the people of India did not have the democratic temperament and therefore, they would pervert the constitution without changing its form.

He said ", constitutional morality is not a natural sentiment. It has to be cultivated, we must realize that our people have yet to learn it.³⁶ He said that the authoritarian ethos governing the behaviour pattern of Hindu society is antithetical to the spirit of democracy.

Ambedker appreciated Harold Laski for his insistence on the moral order as a requirement of democracy.

36. Pylee, M.V. Constitutional government in India, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 2nd Edition, 1965, pp.7-8.

He says that if there is no moral order, democracy will go to the pieces. To cultivate democratic trends, Dr. Ambedker urged the creation of Public conscience. All explained public conscience as a conscience which becomes agitated at every wrong, no matter who was the sufferer and it meant that every body whether he suffered that particular wrong or not, was prepared to join the aggrieved to secure justice. He remarked that non-scheduled castes in villages do not fight for the scheduled castes.

Ambedkar wanted an effective opposition in the parliament so that it could challenge the government on any issue which was against the public interest. He equated one party system to despotism and therefore he was in favour of two-party democracy. In first general election (1951-52) he made an electoral alliance with the P.S.P. The manifests outlined in details is the battle against poverty", and advocated a strong party in opposition. In India the possibility of a strong opposition party was not feasible only. Through electoral alliances but a consistent political activity was essential. But he failed to do it.

There must be equality in law and administration. There must not be a "spoil system" as is to be found in

the U.S.A. For efficient functioning of democracy there is a need of a permanent civil service for implimenting the policy of government without fear of the executive.

According to Ambedkar in the name of democracy there should be no tyranny of the majority over the minority. The minority must always feel safe that though the majority is carrying on the government, the minority will not be hurt, and that the minority will not be imposed upon. Thus, there should be adequate scope for motions of censure or the adjournment motions of the minority to redress their grievances. While speaking on "conditions precedent for the successful working of Democracy", in poona he emphasised that, "the first condition which I think is a condition precedent for succussful working of democracy is that there must be no glaring inequalities in the society. There must not be an oppressed class. There must not be a suppressed class. There must be a class which has got all privileges and a class which has got all the burdens to carry. Such as thing, such a division, such an organisation of society has within itself the germs of a bloody revolution, and perhaps it would be impossible for democracy to cure them".³⁷ In a class structure there is on the one hand Tyranny, vanity, pride,

37. Dr. Ambedkar College, Mahad, Magazine, 1962.

arrogance, greed, selfnish, and on the other, in-security, poverty, degradaton, loss of liberty, self-reliance, independence, dignity and self respect.³⁸ He writes, "The problem of the untouchables is a formidable one for the untouchables to face. The untouchables are surrounded by a vast mass of Hindu population which is hostile to them and which is not ashamed of committing any inequity or attrocity against them. For a redness of these wrongs which are matters of daily occurance, the untouchables have to call in the aid of the administration. What is the character and composition of the administration ? To be brief, the administration in India is completely in the hands of the Hindus. It is their monopoly. From top to bottom it is controlled by them. There is no department which is not dominated by them. They dominate the police, the magistracy and the Revenue services, indeed any and every branch of the administration. The next point to remember is that the Hindus in the administration have the same positive anti-social and inimical attitude to the untouchable which the Hindus outside the administration have. Their one aim is to discriminate against the untouchables and to deny and deprive them not only of the

38. Ambedker, B.R. What Congress ... op.cit.

benefits of law, but also of the protection of the law against tyranny and oppression. The result is that the untouchables are placed between the Hindu population and the Hindu-ridden administration, the one committing wrong against them and the other protecting the wrong doer, in stead of helping the victims .

Against this background, what can swaraj mean to the untouchables ? It can only mean one thing, namely, that while today it is only the administration that is in the hands of the Hindus, under swaraj the legislature and executive will also be in the hands of the Hindus. It goes without saying that such a swaraj would aggravate the sufferings of the untouchables. For, in addition to an hostile administration, there will be an indifferent administration unbridled in venom and in harshness, uncontrolled by the legislature and the executive, may pursue its policy of inequity towards the untouchables without any curb. To put it differently, under swaraj untouchables will have no way of escape from the destiny of degradation which Hindus and Hinduism have fixed for them.³⁹ Thus Ambedker mentioned the upper caste Hindu

39. Ambedker, B.R.; States and Minorities '.

domination in every branch of the Govt. Services and the unjust and undemocratic attitude of upper caste Hindu ridden administration towards untouchables. According to him, the untouchables would never hope to get protection from police, justice from judiciary or the benefit of the statutory law from the administration so long as the public services continued to be manned by Hindus.

According to Ambedker caste and democracy would never go hand in hand.⁴⁰ All in all, casteism play no progressive role in social, economic and political life, whether it be the casteism of the highest or the intermediate castes. In all cases, it vitiates, perforates and pulverises democratic consciousness and unity; antifeudal, anti-capitalist class consciousness and unity. Injustice, inequality and discrimination at various levels are utterly inseparable from the caste system. Caste has always remained a major determinant in the political process. The system of untouchability and caste status are the greatest enemies to democracy.⁴¹

The domination of upper caste Hindus in Indian politics has been coming to be maintained even today. It can be seen from the following data: of comparative

40. Ambedker, B.R., 'Thought on Linguistic states'.

41. Narayan, J.P., 'Socialism, sarvodaya and Democracy' Asia (Bombay) 1964, p. 200.

positions in governmental services in the year 1982.

TABLE -I ⁴²

Class	85% of population (SCs, STs, OBC and other minorities)	15% of population (Brahmins, Kschatriyas, Vaishyas)	Only 3 1/2% Brahims.
Ist class	12 1/2%	87 1/2%	64%
IIInd class	18%	82%	54%
IIIrd class	49%	41%	29%
IVth class	31%	69%	21%

Before the India Act of 1935, was made, the untouchables had no right to join any governmental jobs. The India Act of 1935 gave them the right to join the governmental services. The castewise position of that time & of 1982 can be seen from the following data.

42. Bhaghel, Dr. B.S. A paper " why the Need of BAMSEF ,
p.54 & B.S.F. Printed by Anil Printers D.702 Kamla
Nagar Agra-5.

TABLE -II 43

		Castes	Kayastas, Muslims	Brahmins	Britons Chritia- ns & Anglo- Indians	Others	SCs , & STs.	Backward class	
Years	1935		40%	35%	3%	15%	7%	0%	0%
	1982		7%	34 1/2%	70%	0%	9 1/2%	8%	2%
					(negligible)				

Thus, from above table we can easily imagine the effect of caste on Indian politics. Most profitier caste is the Brahmin class whose percentage in governmental services has increased from 3 to 70%. It is because that Brahmins have always been dominated in the Indian Politics. About the their domination in every branch of the Indian administration, Ambedker said, "whether the Brahmins claimed themselves to be the members of the governing class or not, the facts that they controlled the administration and their supermacy was accepted by the servile classes were enough to establish the point."⁴⁴ This is true even today. Ambedker remarked that in proportion to their numbers, the Brahmins had secured overwhelming representation. We may see their position in Indian politics of today by analysing the following recent data of the year 1982.

43. Ibid.

44. Ambedker B.R. What Congress op.cit.

TABLE -III⁴⁵

Recent data (1982) of domination of Brahmins (who constitutes 3 1/3% of total Indian Population) on Indian politics and Governmental Departments.

Serial No.	Post	No. of the posts	No. of the Brahmins on the posts	% of the Brahmins on the posts	Comments
1.	Prime Minister	1	1	100	Family domination except for a period of 1 1/2 yrs.
2.	Central Cabinet Ministers	19	10	53%	
3.	Private Secretaries of the Ministers (Central and State)	49	34	70%	
4.	Secretary, Additional Secretary, joint secretary at Centre.	500	310	62%	
5.	Chief -Ministers of the States	26	14	54%	
6.	Governors/Vice-governors	27	13	50%	
7.	Secretories of Governors/ Vice-governors	24	13	54%	
8.	Judges of the Supreme Courts	16	9	56%	
9.	Judges of the High Courts	330	166	50%	
10.	Ambasadors & High Commissioners	140	58	41%	
11.	Vice-Chancellors of universities	98	50	51%	
12.	Highest officers of the Govt. Fields.				
	(a) Main executive heads	158	91	57%	
	(b) Central secretories	17	14	82%	
13.	J.A.S. officers	3300	2000	61%	
14.	Lok Sabha Members	530	190	36%	
15.	Rajya Sabha Members	244	89	36%	

45. Baghel, Dr. B. S. op.cit."

In social and religious context pujaris (Mathadhishs) of all temples are always Brahmins. Thus, Brahmins have got 100% reservation in priestwood.

Ambedker remarked that the governing class in India today was now a Brahmin-Bania instead of Brahmin-Kschatriya combine as it used to be. This class will not disappear by the magic of Swaraj. In proportion to their numbers the Brahmins had secured over whelming representation. The representation of Bania was also over-whelming.⁴⁶ The savarna Caste Hindus constitutes only 13½% of the total population of India. They have got domination not only in political and social fields but also in economic and educational fields. Their position in all these fields is clear from following recent data.⁴⁷

TABLE -IV

Fields	Savarna Hindus (Brahmins, Kschatriya, Vaishyas) Profitiers of casteism	86½% Backward class, SCs, STs, & other minorities.
Services	88%	12%
Education	78%	22%
Trade	97%	3%
Land	94%	6%
Politics	70%	30%
Priesthood	100%	0%

46. Ambedker B.R. op.cit.

47. Baghel, Dr. B. S. op.cit.

In contrast to the dominant position of the caste Hindus, the untouchables have remained in very miserable conditions. This can be judged even after the period of 48 years of implimentation of reservation for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. following datas of VI annual report (1990) of Scheduled caste/ Scheduled Tribe. Commission of India illustrates the present position of untouchables .

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TABLE-V

Fields	SC/STs in Education	SC/STs in Govt. Services	SC/STs in Trade & Industries	SC/STs in Agriculture Industry.
Position in %	6%	7%	0.2%	2%

Ambedker always stressed on the inclusion of representatives of minorities in the cabinet.⁴⁹ In this regard he criticised the Congress Policy of non-inclusion^{49a}

48. Navabharat Times, New Delhi, 1990.

49. Ambedker, B.R. Poona Pact.

49a. See Infra chap. p..

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TABLE- VI

Post Numbers	Governor/ Deputy Governor	Ambess- dor/ High commission	Vice- chance- llors	Chief- Minis- ters of states	High Court Judges	Supreme Court Judges
Total posts	27	140	108	26	330	23
<u>Appo- inted candida- tes of SC/STs</u>	2	0	0	0	4	0
Required number of SC/STs posts.	6	31	23	5	74	6

Thus, negligible and miserable position of the former untouchables is very clear. During ___ the long period of 43 years of Independence, not even a single person belonging to SC/STs has so far been appointed Director of police, General of Army , Chief justice of India, speaker of Lok Sabha, Prime-minister of India, president or Vice president of India. Not even a single person from among SC/STs has been appointed chief-aditor, publisher of any big newspapers of India, Chairman of the any nationalised

bank , director of Doordarshan & Broad casting etc.All it is because of the caste-ridden democracy of India. Casteism has so much influenced the Indian politics that even the reservation kota has never been filled up. Thus,we find that Ambedker was absolutely correct when he remarked that if there were no guarantees to the untouchables , the result would be that the Hindu communal majority not only capture legislature, the executive and the administration but the executive, the legislature, and the administration would be over run by the Hindu communal majority and these powerful organs of state, instead of protecting the minorities, would become the tools of the Hindu communal majority doing its bidding⁵¹. This is what is happening even when a reservation policy has been followed, Thus,in a real sense political, social and economic conditions of untouchable is miserable and deplorable. Dr. Ambedker said", A political democracy without an economic and social democracy is an invitation to trouble and danger"⁵² Social democracy alone can assure to the masses the right to liberty, equality and fraternity. According to him, fraternity is only another name for democracy ,therefore,he thought it necessary to annihilate the caste system in the Hindu society.

51. Ambedker B.R., What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the untouchable.

Pylee,
52./M.V., 'Constitution Govt, in India'Asia, Publishing House Bombay 1960.

Because of the caste-system, the untouchables were denied civil, political, economic, religious and legal rights for a long period of time. The concept of justice had no place in the Hindu social milieu, and therefore untouchable had to lead a life of supine servitude, Dr. Ambedker said, " caste has made public opinion impossible. To a Hindu, public opinion is his caste. His responsibility is only to his caste. Virtue has become caste ridden and morality has become caste-bound. There is ^{no} sympathy to the deserving, there is no appreciation of the meritorious"⁵³

The universal Declaration of Human Right as a common standard of achievement for all people and all nations includes the right to education, the right to choose one's own marriage partner, the right to vote and hold public office, and right to receive equal pay for equal work. All these rights were withheld from the untouchable. In India, no attempt as such was made to strengthen respect for human rights and fundamental rights. Therefore no congenial atmosphere existed to promote Understanding , tolerance and friendship among the Hindus. These were special privilege granted to a small section of the Hindu community and the mass of people remained bonded . The intension of Hindus to oppress, suppress and Tyrannise the untouchables has been exposed by Ambedker.⁵⁴ He said that even though

53. Ambedker, B.R. 'Annihilation of Caste.

54. Kuber W.N. op.cit.

Hindusism had been absorbing many of cultures into its fold, it failed to absorb the untouchable or to remove the bar of untouchability as the Hindus had nothing to gain by the abolition of untouchability. Hindus exploited, the untouchables and enhanced a feeling of pride and dignity befitting a master class at the cost of the untouchables. The untouchables were used as forced labour, scavengers, and sweepers as they could be compelled due to their state of complete destitution and helplessness to work on a mere pittance and sometimes on nothing at all. Thus they could be kept to lower jobs and prevented from entering into competition for higher jobs. Their plight became worse than that of the slave.

Ambedker writes : "In slavery the master at any rate had the responsibility to feed, clothe and house the slave and keep him in good condition lest the market value of the slave should decrease. But in the system of untouchability the Hindus take no responsibility for maintaining the untouchables . . . As an economic system it permits exploitation without obligation but it is also a system of uncontrolled economic exploitation. That is because there is no independent public opinion to condemn it and there is no impartial machinery of administration to restrain it.

There is no appeal to public opinion of the Hindu who belong to the exploiting class and as such favour exploitation. There is no check from the police or the judiciary for the simple reason that they are all drawn from the Hindus, and take the side of the exploiters".⁵⁵

So before Ambedkar lay the great task of putting into motion a series of changes to end exploitation the untouchables, creating in them the sense of selfrespect, individual dignity and consciousness of equality of status. Ambedkar did not adopt the Marxist means to end exploitation of untouchables; but he adopted steady, effective and constitutional methods to bring about a change in the thought pattern of the Hindus. Secondly, there was the task of arousing the deadened sensibilities of the oppressed classes. Thirdly, there was a need to demand constitutional safeguards for redressing the social, economic, and political disadvantages of the untouchables.

He awakened the untouchables by making them aware of their slavery. He popularised the statement. "Tell the slave he is slave and he will revolt."⁵⁶ He asked his people to live with selfrespect or to live like pet animals in gilt cages. Moreover, he said 'Never regard yourselves as

55. Ambedkar B.R. What congress op.cit.

56. Keer D. 'Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission'.

untouchables. Like a clean life, Dress yourselves like the touchables . None can restrict your freedom in the choice of your garments. Attend more to the cultivation of the mind and the spirit of self-help".⁵⁷ Through another effective slogan, "Educate, Agitate and organise" he goaded the untouchables into action. He used to say his people , "Be a ruling race. He started an institution under the title, "Bakiskrit Hitakarini Sabha " with the following objects:

- (i) To promote the spread of creation among the depressed classes by opening hostels or employing such other means as may seem necessary or desirable .
- (ii) To promote the spread of culture among the depressed classes by opening libraries, social centres and classes and study circles.
- (iii) To advance and improve the economic conditions of the depressed classes by starting agricultural and industrial schools.
- (iv) To represent the grievances of the depressed classes.

He started many hostels for the poor students, and also schools and colleges in order to gave practical shape to his ideas. The untouchables realized that they must organise themselves and claim their rights.

57. Kharat S(ed) Letters of Dr. Ambedker Life and Mission.

There was political awakening in them which found expression in the active participation of the untouchables in the satyagrahas at Mahad, Nasik, Poona and other places; in the publication of journals such as the Mook Nayak and Bahiskrit Bharat, the Janta and Prabuddha Bharat; in the founding social and political organisations such as watandar Mahar Mandal, The Bahiskrit Hitakarni Sabha, the Samaj Samta Mandal, the independent labour party, the S.C. Federation, the Republican party of India, the people's Education Society and so on.

Ambedker was averse to join the Indian National Congress because its leaders did not realize the significance of social reform. There was no programme to improve the status of the untouchables. There was a lack of enthusiasm on their part to do away with the disabilities of the untouchables. The basic human rights were denied to them. Therefore Dr. Ambedker feared that the leaders of the Congress could not remove the grave social and economic backwardness of the untouchables.

Ambedker criticised the British Government for deliberately maintaining the policy of indifference towards the social reforms of the Hindu Society. While speaking at the first R.T.C. in 1928, he blamed the British Government for not effecting any change in the position of the untouchables. He said, "indeed, so far as we are

concerned, the British Government has accepted the social arrangement as it found them, and has preserved them faithfully in the manner of the Chinese tailor who, when given an old coat as a pattern, produced with pride an exact replica, rents, patches and all. Our wrongs have been as open as they have not been righted, although 150 years of British rule have rolled away. It was not merely a case of indifference, rather it was a case of sheer incompetence to undertake the task".⁵⁸ He questions the usefulness of such an incompetent government in an unequivocal and forceful way. He says "of what good is such a government to any body? Under a government, paralysed between two such limitations, much that goes to make life good, must remain held up. We must have government in which the men in power will give their undivided allegiance to the best interest of the country. We must have a government in which men in power, knowing where obedience will end and resistance will begin, will not be afraid to amend the social economic code of life which dictates of justice and expediency so urgently called for. This role the British Government will never be able to play. It is only a government which is of the people, for the people and by the people that will make it possible."⁵⁹ Other

58. Gupta, C.B. The Harijans in Rebellion : case for removal of the untouchability, D.B. Taraporewala Sons & Cos. Bombay, 1934.

59. Ibid.

Indian Leaders who participated in the R.T.C. could not demand Independence but Dr. Ambedker was the only one who could demand the replacement of a bureaucratic form of government by a government of people, by the people and for the people. Dr. Ambedker submitted a memorandum to the minority committee of R.T.C. in order to formulate the safeguards deemed necessary to the untouchables for their protection against the tyranny and oppression by the Hindus .

According to him, remajority rule is not accepted as a principle but it is tolerated as a rule ⁶⁰. Therefore, he was prepared to place untouchables under a majority rule in a self-governing India subject to certain terms and conditions which are as follow :

(1) The majority rule must not perpetuate the present state of hereditary bondsmen on the untouchables and there must be a concerted move for the end of untouchability. The majority government must create equality of citizenship while guaranteeing the fundamental rights through the declarations of rights must be accompanied by the provisions of remedies. They should not be mere pious pronouncements but must become realities of everyday life. Thus, any kind of infringement of the right of the people for the full enjoyment of any of the

60. Ambedker B.R., Communal Deadlock and a way to solve it F & O Printing (Delhi) 1945.

of the accomodations, advantages, facilities, privileges of inns, educational institutions, roads, paths, streets, tanks , wells etc. must be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years and must be liable to fine. Moreover, there must not be any kind of social boycott of the depressed, classes.

iii) There must not be any discriminatory condition in the matter of possessing personal property or in the enforcement of contracts. Every citizen must be eligible to serve in civil, military or educational institutions. Every body should be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of accommodations educational institutional and places of public resort.

iv) In order to influence the legislative and executive action for the purpose of securing welfare, the depressed classes must be given sufficient political power . Therefore, the depressed classes must have adequate representation in the legislatures of the country . Moreover, they must have a right to elect their own men as their representatives by adult sufferage and by seperate electorates.⁶¹

61. Ambecker B.R, 'States and Minorities '.

In addition to these he demanded the establishment of a machinery to have redress against prejudicial action or neglect of interests, special departmental care to allow the depressed class to have equality of status or equality of treatment and the representation in the cabinet to have opportunity to frame the general policy of the Government respectively. For this he sought to provide protection by way of appointing an officer called the superintendent of Minorities Affairs.⁶²

With a aim to remove the social, economic, political and religious disabilities of the untouchable, it was necessary to establish a democratic government. Only under a democratic system of government could social, economic political and religious freedom be ensured equally to every man and women .

The success of democracy in India depended upon the satisfaction of the millions of people who were devoid of preliminaries of life. The discontent against parliamentary democracy was due to the realisation that it has failed to assure the masses the right to liberty, property or pursuit of happiness". But unfortunately parliamentary democracy in India took no notice

62. Rao, B. Shiv, Zedi) Framing of Indian Constitution, Vol.II, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1967,p.91.

of economic inequalities and did not care to examine the results of freedom of contract. It has failed to realise that it could not succeed where there was no social and economic democracy, because they were the Tissue and the fibre of political democracy.

Ambedker gave his new two nations theory according to which the political societies were divided into two classes : the rulers and the ruled. Rulers were always drawn from the ruling class. This was why a political democracy could not become the "a government of the people or by the people". He warned the waitingers of democracy that if it failed in this land, "the results would be rebellion, anarchy and communism."⁶³ He was of the opinion that parliamentary democracy is not a new to India. In ancient times, India had a parliamentary institution.⁶⁴

He could not make India a true democratic India There is loose talk of limited Dictarship, need to reconstitute constituent Assembly by new elections, converting the existing parliament into the constitutent Assembly. For what ? What should be the minimum foundation of our constitution ? Answers are provided by

63. From his speech "Future of Parliamentary Democracy before students of the D.A.V. College, Jullundur, City (Punjab) on Oct. 28, 1951.

64. Ibid.

Ambedker in his thesis : 'States and Minorities; Our constitution did not include the most vital point that was suggested by him as a chairman of the Drafting Committee. He said that 'socialism ' as an aim of our national life should be specifically mentioned in our constitution. It needs in -depth research as to why this was not accepted by Nehru, who identified himself as a Socialist in the Congress.

II- EFFECT OF CASTEISM ON ELECTIONS

In the Indian democracy, the election is the foundation of Representative Government which is reared up on a system of single member constituencies. Caste plays a very significant role at a time of elections all over India but its role is not identical in all states. The most compelling reason that has catapulted caste into a position where it has to be reckoned with as an important political factor is the competition for votes among numerous political parties. In the words of Jay Prakash Naryan, "Caste is the most important political party in India."¹ That is so because while building their support base, all political parties and politicians in India try to mobilise identifiable social groups to score in the game of numbers that is democracy. On the eve of every general election or state election, expressions like Jat Vote, Harijan Vote, the Brahmin vote, the Rajput vote are freely bandied about and those in the fray go about assiduously organizing and nursing these vote banks to assure success.² In a given constituency, almost all political parties try to find a

1. Narayan, J.P. Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy Asia (Bombay) 1964.

2. From an article 'caste and politics in India' in Career & Competition times Magazine, July 1986, p.479.

candidate belonging to the dominant caste groups in that area. At the time of elections, Mostly scheduled castes are suppressed and most of the times in some places they are prevented from casting votes to a candidate of their choices by upper castes.

Indian politics is caste-ridden politics. Caste in India is, and for a long time going to remain, a very much a part of the social context and in the final analysis politics cannot be divorced from this context . As regards the interaction between caste and politics in our country, caste affects politics, the reverse is equally true i.e. politics affects caste. Rajnikothari has observed, "It is not politics that gets caste-ridden; it is caste that gets politicalised."³ He further said, "process of politics is one of the identifying and manipulating the existing structure in order to mobilize support and consolidate. Positions when. The caste-structure provides one of the most important organisational structure in which the population is found to live, politics must strive to organise through such a structure. Casteism in politics is thus no less than politicalisation of caste.

3. Kothari, R. 'Caste in Indian Politics' Orient Longman Ltd, New Delhi, 1970.

4. Ibid.

In free India, it was hoped that caste would gradually cease to exert its influence, but it still continues to influence politics. According to M.N. Srinivas, even the educated and urbanised and westernised members of the upper classes . have not escaped the bonds of caste entirely. They show caste attitude in surprising contexts." ⁵ Thus, caste will remain an important factor in the social system and will continue to act as a major determinant in the political process.

According to B.R. Ambedker, caste and democracy would never go hand in hand . Caste Hindu's responsibility is only to his caste. His loyalty is restricted to his caste. Virtue has become caste ridden and morality has become caste bound. There is no sympathy to the deserving. There is no appreciation of the meritorious. ⁶ Gandhi spoke before the south Indian Harijan workers' conference at Bangalore, on 10 June 1936, that "Dr. Ambedker is an untouchables intellectually he is superior to the thousands of intelligent educated caste Hindus. He is a great teacher of law. He might become a judge of the High Court. There is no office in government service which he cannot aspire to and to which the most orthodox Brahmin

5. Srinivas, M.N. 'Social Change in Modern India' University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles , 1966.

6. Ambedker, B.R. 'Annihilation of Caste' .

might rise, defiled by the touch of Dr. Ambedker. And that for the unpardonable sin of being a Mahar. If we were not habituated to thinking that untouchability by birth was an integral part of Hinduism, we could not conduct ourselves towards men like Dr. Ambedker as many are conducting themselves even today".⁷ Caste system when supported by language creates a majority community which ultimately works against democracy. Ambedker has noted some peculiar features of the caste-system which are as follow :

(1) Caste are so distributed that in any given area there are others which are small and are subservient to the major caste owing to their comparative smallness and their economic dependence upon the major caste which owns most of the land in the village .

(ii) The caste system is marked not merely by inequality but is affected by the system of graded inequality. All castes are not on par. They are one above other . There is a kind of ascending scale of hatred and a descending scale of contempt.

(iii) A caste has all the exclusiveness and pride which a nation has. It is therefore not improper to speak of

7. The Times of India, 11 June 1936.

collection of castes, as a collection of major and minor nations".⁸

As regards the consequences of the caste system on politics Ambedker has summerized following effects:

"(1) Voting is always communal. The voter votes for the candidate of his community and not for the best candidate.

(II) The majority community carries the seat by the sheer communal majority.

(III) The minority community is forced to vote for the candidate of majority community.

(IV) The votes of the minority community are not enough to enable the candidate to win the seat against the candidate put up by the majority community.

(V) As consequences of the social system of graded inequality the voter of the higher (major) communities can never condescend ^{to} give his vote to a candidate of a minority community. On the other hand the voter of the minority community who is socially on a lower level takes pride in giving his vote to the candidate of the majority community that is another reason. Why a candidate of minority community loses in election."⁹

Ambedker remarked that the congress party always put up candidates who belonged to castes which were in the majority in the constituencies. This was the

8. Ambedker B.R. Thought on Linguistic States, Krishna Press (Bombay), 1955.

9. Ibid.

reason that congress party always won. Caste and the congress are closely linked. It was by exploiting the caste system that the congress won.¹⁰

Ambedker analysed the results of 1937 election, and proved that the Congress was not a majority party - the Congress not even obtained 50% votes.

In the elections of 1937, Ambedker's Independent Labour Party set up 17 candidates for contesting the election. In it, party won 15 seats which was a great success for the depressed classes. Ambedker proved that the untouchable candidates triumphed congress because they got over 82% votes of their community in the primary elections. The majority of Tickets were given to Mahars, although there were at least two candidates from other untouchable castes, a mang and a Gujarati scheduled caste man. Two of the caste Hindus elected were C.K.P. (Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhu) - one was a Brahmin. The lack of chambhars, the wealthiest, ritually highest group among the scheduled castes in Maharashtra, was striking. The secretary of the Ambedkers Depressed classes Association had been a Chambhar and the secretary of the scheduled castes Federation was also a chambhar, P.N. Rajbhaj, yet the caste as a whole

10. Ibid.

did not follow him. The strongest factor in the lack of co-operation is probably the caste division and the resultant rivalry within the untouchables groups themselves. Chambhars had already achieved some degree of economic advancement with their leather work, Mangs were the most educationally and economically backward of the three groups, and neither chambhars nor Mangs could see a Mahar leader as their salvation. Ambedker attempted to win these castes over, frequently at chambhar or Mang meetings. He gave a detailed reply to a criticism raised at a chambhar conference in 1939.¹¹ and devoted space in Janta in 1941 to a long letter from a Mang (first educated Mang in the Nizam's state; D.N.Kambla) accusing him of being only a Mahar leader.¹² But by this time the Mahar conversion announcement had further alienated other castes. Ambedker replied that he had no ambition for the Mahars, in fact, would do every thing in his power to liquidate it as a community though he would want them to progress as human beings". He accused the congress of playing a political game, giving the example that "Although it was the Mahars who fought for right of entrance in the police Training

11. Bombay Chronicle, July 4, 1939.

12. Janta , Bombay, June 14, 1941.

school at Nasik it was all non-Mahars who were admitted."¹³
 In reply to the letter he said That he had successfully introduced inter-caste dining, that the Mahar hostels were open to all, that the Independent Labour Party considered quality, not caste , and warned the Mangs against taking the way of the congress.¹⁴

As regard the acceptance of untouchable leadership under I.L. P or scheduled caste Federation The caste Hindu Labour was not ready for untouchable leadership, nor could the identification of congress with Independence be overcome. Therefore, in the 1945 elections for the provincial legislatures, newly established S.C.F. got utterly defeated. Ambedker's official position as a labour member in the viceroy's executive council prevented him from taking an active part in party organisation which may have been a factor in the defeat. He himself produced official election figures for the cabinet Mission which showed that in the primary elections, in which scheduled castes alone voted, the S.C.F. had received more votes. Than congress in Madras, Bombay and central provinces.¹⁵
 He also offered proof that, in each province, the majority of the scheduled caste votes had gone to non-congress

13. Bombay Chronicle, July 4, 1939.

14. Janta, Bombay ,June 14, 1941.

15. A copy of his chart is in C.B. Khairmoday's Collection of Ambedker material in Bombay University Library.

candidates.¹⁶ There had been some violence in Nagpur and Bombay at the time of elections and Ambedker also charged terrorism and intimidation as well as open hostility on the part of returning and polling officials as a reasons for the election defeat.¹⁷

In the elections of 1951-52 also the scheduled caste Federation lost badly . In Bombay state, four candidates contested seats for the lok sabha, only one, P.N. Rajbhaj, standing from Sholapur, was successful . Ambedker was defeated by his long time chambhar opponent, N.S. Kajrolkar, in the Bombay (North) constituency¹⁸. The federation put up thirty -eight candidates for the Bombay Legislative Assembly, its ambition going beyond the twenty seven seats reserved for the scheduled castes. With the exception of B.C. Kamble, standing from the Chinchpokli Lower Parel Love Corove constituency in Bombay, all lost .

As to the question : what can be the reasons for defeat, Vankatarangaiya says that some socialists felt that the alliance with the S.C.F. was injurious. Middle class resentment was increased because of the alliance of the Federation with the peasants and workers

16. Ambedker B.R., What Congress and Gandhi op.cit.

17. Ambedker B.R., Cabinet Mission and Untouchables Bombay, Privately Printed, no date.

18. Vankatarangaiya, M. 'The General Elections in the City of Bombay(Bombay : Vora and Co., 1953), 146.

party in some part of the state and also because of alleged attacks by Federation Leaders on Gandhi¹⁹. According to Ambedker P.W.D. (peasants and workers party) was a communal party dominated by Marathas.²⁰ He characterised the Hindu Sabha and Jansangh as a communal party²¹, Venkatarangaiya further, says that Ambedker's proposal to include Bombay in Maharashtra cast him and the socialists the Gujarati vote²². Ambedker himself said he was at a loss to understand the defeat.²³ The S.C.F. with 16.92% of the electorate in the Bombay North constituency got 17.27% of the valid votes. The fact that the proportion of votes per candidate was higher for the Federation than for any other party but congress, that the S.C.F. had tripled its 1946 vote, which congress did not quite do, and broadened its area of influence, winning twelve seats in the legislative Assemblies of six states (Hyderabad, Madras, Pepsu, Bombay, Himachal Pradesh), did not relieve the general gloom. High tinker writes", The most disappointed candidates were those of the S.C.F.. The great majority of these reserved seats went to the

19. Ibid

20. Ambedker B.R., Letters to Gokhale, pp. 320-21.

21. Ibid.

22. Venkatarangaiya M. op.cit.

23. Venkatarangaiya M. 'Bombay City' In report on the Indian General Elections 1951-1952, by S.K. Kogekar and Richard L. Park (Bombay" Popular Book Depot 1956).

nominees of congress non-entities for the most part, but returned by the magic name of Nehru".²⁴

In 1954, Ambedker and his 1952 running partner, Ashoka Mehta, Contested the bye election in Bhandara, a district near Nagpur, Mehta, running on the socialist party ticket for the general seat, won ; Ambedker, as a S.C.F. candidate for the reserved seat, lost. The factors in the loss of the Bhandara bye-election seem to be the failure of there voting for Mehta also to support Ambedker; the alienation of caste Hindus by Ambedker's bitter denunciation of Nehru, the congress, and Gandhian policies, the thorough coverage of the area by a high powered group of congress leaders, and possibly the deflection of Mahanubhav Mahar votes as a result of the earlier leadership of G.M. Thaware, a Mahar leader who had broken with Ambedker and joined congress before his death in 1952, caste Hindus wasted their votes, but did not cast for Ambedker .²⁵ The chief reason, however, for the Scheduled Castes Federation's defeat was that they they had no where to go with their political power. The federation constituency was limited to a minority by a factor of caste .

24. High Tinker, India and Pakistan, A Political Analysis New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962.

25. Bali L.R. 'Symbol of Resolt Dr. Ambedker, Amar Jyoti Press Jallandur (Punjab), 1985.

According to Ambedker , in the 1937 election, the Congress backed out its words promised by it to untouchables at a time of Poona pact that congress will not inter-middle in the election of untouchables to the seats reserved for them. This promise was dashed to pieces. The congress did not hesitate to play a full, mighty and a malevolent part in the elections of untouchables by putting up untouchable candidates on congress ticket pledged to congress programme for seats reserved for the untouchables. Congress captured 78 seats (51%) out of 151 total seats. Thus, it took back 78 seats out of 151 which it gave to untouchables under poonapact and thereby made a handsome profit on its political transaction. It left only 73 seats to be filled by true and independent representatives of the untouchables. Congress also inflicted another greater blow on untouchables by depriving them of any share in the Executive. ²⁶

After independence, the occupant of the reserved seat was to be determined by general vote. Ambedker evidently realized the necessity of both winning the reserved seats and using the votes from that limited number of seats in a larger alliance. But S.C.F. faced

26. Ambedkar B.R. What congress and Gandhi Have Done to untouchables.

The problem of alliances, and the difficulty of splits in the party leadership. The following chart showing seats contested and won by the S.C.F. over a period of two municipal elections, suggests the effect of the split:²⁷

1948		1952	
Seats contested	Won	Seats contested	Won
9	7	11	5

From the result of elections which took place in February 1946, Dr. B.R. Ambedker arranged the statistical data in four series of table²⁸. First series show the votes secured by the successful caste Hindu candidate and the successful scheduled caste candidate in final election held in Madras, Bengal, Bombay, United Provinces, Central provinces, Assam and Orissa.

Second series show in how many cases did reliance on reservation clause become necessary

27. Sharma B.A.V. and Jangam R.T. 'The Bombay Municipal Corporation -An election study Bombay, Book Deopt, 1962.

28. Ambedker B.R, 'States and Minorities Thacker & Co. Ltd. (Bombay) 1947.

for the success of the scheduled caste candidate in the final election held in provinces- Madras , Bengal, Bombay, C.P., U.P. Assam, Orissa & Punjab and in how many be succeeded without the benefit of reservation.

Third series show the relative voting strength of the caste Hindus and the scheduled castes in constituencies of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, U.P. C.P. , Bihar, Assam & Punjab, in which seats are reserved for the scheduled castes.

Fourth series show the position in the primary election of scheduled caste candidate in Madras, Bombay, C.P., U.P. and Punjab who became successful in the final elections.

After examining these figures very carefully, Ambedker reached the following propositions : ²⁹

(1) That every one of the scheduled caste candidate who became successful in the final election owed his success to the votes of the caste Hindus and not of the scheduled castes. A great many of them came to the top of the post and secured votes equal to and in some cases larger than those obtained by caste Hindu candidates. Secondly, in

29. Ibid.

very few constitutendes was the successful scheduled caste candidate required to rely on reservation, this is most unexpected phenomenon. Any one who compares the voting strength of the scheduled castes with the voting strength of the caste Hindus in the different constituencies would realise that the voting strength of the scheduled caste is so small that such a phenomenon could never have occurred if only the scheduled castes voters had voted for the scheduled caste candidates, that they have occurred is proof positive that the success of the scheduled caste candidate in final election is conditioned by the caste Hindu votes.

(II) That comparing the results of the primary election with those of the Final election, The scheduled caste candidate who was elected in the Final election was one who had failed in the primary election (if the Primary election be treated as a Final election and the constituency be treated as a single member constituency).

(III) Owing to the extreme disparity between the voting strength of the Hindus and the scheduled castes disparity which will not disappear even under adult suffrage-a system of joint electorates will not succeed in giving the scheduled castes the chance of returning their true representing .

(IV) The candidates whom the untouchables rejected in the primary elections which is the true index of their will

have been returned in the Final election by the votes of caste-Hindus.

Thus, Ambedker proved that the joint electorate had completely disfranchised the scheduled castes. For the primary election, Hindus insisted upon compulsory

distributive vote system aim of which according to Ambedker was nothing but to enable Hindus to capture the seats reserved for the untouchables. Though Hammond Committee rejected and accepted cumulative system put forth by Ambedker, commenting on the attitude of Hindus he said, "This throws a flood of light on the Hindu mentality of making by the right hand a concession which they cannot oppose and stealing it away by the left."³⁰

According to him, his failure in 1952 general elections was due to joint electorates.³¹ The general elections conclusively proved it. The Poona pact and its system of voting were at the root of the defeat of scheduled caste candidates in general elections. In an interview, he stated, "The Poona pact must go. It has resulted in disenfranchising 60 million Untouchables. According to an international law no treaty was final and sacrosanct."³² He said that the

30. Ambedker B.R. 'The Poona Pact' Buddhist Publishing House, Jalandar, 1982.

31. Kuber W.N. Dr. Ambedker - A Critical study.

32. Dalit bandhu, Special Number 15 April 1948, p. 27.

the simmon commission had observed that the device of the reserved seats ceases to be workable where the pro-tected community constituted an exceeding small fraction of any manageable constituency.

Therefore , Ambedker suggested a new method which involved the abolition of the primary election as a needless and heavy eneumbrance, and the substitution of sepearate electorates. He reiterated that so long as there were joint electorates, scheduled caste voters would be so few that caste Hindu condidates could safely ignore their wishes. Caste Hindu would never support scheduled caste candicates, sepearate electorates were fundamental ; without them the scheduled castes would , never have theirown representative³³ In a speech in Rajya Sabha on 22 September 1953, he stated that he accepted the poona pact as inevitable because it was not possible for him to get more. Concluding the whole controversy he said, "The Poona pact gave a death blow to the self reliant movements of Depressed classes "³⁴. He demanded the abrogation of the poonapact signed by himself and Gandhi and demanded the restoration of sepearate electorates as envisaged in MacDonald's communal Award³⁵

Socio-economic status of any caste plays an important role at a time of elections . There is close relationship between the status of caste and its economic position. The

33. Menon, V.P., The Transfer of Fower, p. 243-44.

. Orient Longmans, Bombay 1957, pp.243-44.

34. Ambedker, B.R. What Congress op.cit.

35. Bombay Chronicle, 7 November 1946.

higher castes tend to be landowners businessmen, while tenants are mostly from middle castes and agricultural labours from untouchables. Similarly all positions of power and influence are in the hands of higher castes.

According to Anil Bhatt if relationship between caste and socio-economic status changes, then whatever little relationship caste status has with political orientation, influence or activity would also change. In addition to the socio-economic status the bureaucracy also plays a very important role at a time of elections. At the time of elections the village head or the Sarpanch or the one under whom the landless labourer works, can command him to vote for his favourite candidate. If opposition is raised by the landless labourers their huts are burnt, and economic sanctions and social boycott are imposed on them. The democracy in India is endangered not only by the urban capitalists but also by the village plutocrats.

In order to free the members of the scheduled castes from the Tyranny and oppression of the caste Hindus, Ambedkar demanded separate settlements for the former. This, he felt, would ensure them social and economic security which would reestablish them in society. He initiated a New Life Movement which was far from being narrowminded and chauvinism. According to him, the objects of the movement were :

36. Bhatt; Anil. Caste, class and Politics, Manohar Book Service, New Delhi, 1975, p.181.

(1) to free the untouchables from the thralldom of the Hindus and (ii) to better the economic position of the untouchables.³⁷ Seperate settlements called for the establishment of a seperate commission duly empowered to provide financial assistance to the members of the scheduled castes for their allround progress and development. The validity of this demand would not diminish so long as religious obseuranism and caste prejudices stand in the way of humanist and democratic approach to various problems facing the Indian Society. While mentioning the Objects of a New Life Movement, he criticised the village system in the following words :-

"It is the close knit association of the untouchables with the Hindus Living in the same villages which marks them out as untouchables and which enables the Hindus to identify them as being untouchables . India is admittedly a land of villages and so long as the village system provides an easy method of making out and identifying the untouchable, the untouchable had no escape from untouchability. It is the village system which perpetuates untouchability, and the untouchables therefore demand that it should be broken and the untouchables who are as a matter of fact socially sepe- rate, should be made so geographically and territorially

37. Ambedker, B.R., States and Minorities.

also and be grouped into separate villages exclusively of untouchables in which the distinction of the high and the low and the touchable and untouchable will find no place."³⁸ Untouchables are body of landless labourers who are entirely dependent upon the such employment as the Hindus May choose to give them and on such wages as the Hindus may find it profitable to pay. In the villages in which they live they cannot engage in any trade or occupation owing to untouchability. No Hindu will deal with them. It is, therefore, obvious that there is no way out for earning a living which is open to untouchables. So long as they live as the dependent part of the Hindu village. This economic dependence has other consequences beside the condition of poverty and degradation which proceeds from it. The Hindu has a code of life, which is a part of his religion. A perpetual war is going on every day in every village between the Hindus and untouchables. Under the village system the untouchable has found himself greatly handicapped in his struggle for free and honourable life. It is a contest between the economically poor and socially small group of untouchables is the result of many causes. The Hindu has the police and Magistracy on his side. In a quarrel between the untouchables and the Hindus, the untouchables will never get

38. Ibid.

protection from the police or justice from the Magistrate. The police and Magistracy are Hindus and they love their class more than their duty. But the chief weapon in the armoury of the Hindus is economic power which they possess over the poor untouchables living in the village.³⁹ Therefore Ambedker called the village a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow mindedness and communalism.

The poor position of untouchables in bueracracy can be imagined from the central and state combined data of year 1949. 76% scheduled castes and 87% scheduled tribes are

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TABLE -I

Class	Total posts	Posts achieved by SCs		Posts achieved by ST	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
First	10,903	123	1.18	17	0.16
Second	20,501	488	2.38	97	0.47
Third	829,471	47,624	6.95	6,594	0.79
Forth	914,704	147,704	17.24	23,810	2.60

39. Ibid.

40. Magazine 'Maya' 30 September 1990.

associated with agriculture but mostly they are agricultural labours. Half of them are bonded agricultural labour.⁴¹

According to the latest annual (1990) report of the SCs and STs commission they have only 2% land. As regards the trade and Industrial fields, they have got only 0.2% gain⁴². Latest report of 'Rural Labour Enquiry' tells that more than half of the agricultural labour has no land. Thus, we find, even today their condition very deplorable. All these have direct and indirect effect on the elections. At many places, untouchables are not allowed to cast their votes in favour of their choice.

Therefore, Prof. M.N. Srinivas correctly observes, "The elections of 1957 may be said to have awakened the Indian intelligentsia as to the actual considerations which influenced voting. It also led to the widespread condemnation of exploitation of caste links for election purposes... Elections to panchayats, and municipalities held in subsequent years have shown conclusively that caste considerations are potent." There can be very many instances to prove that during the last few election both local and national, caste has influence the course of elections and also in the selection of candidate. Thereafter, when it comes to formation of cabinets or

42. Navabharat Times, New Delhi, 7 January 1919.

43. M.N. Srinivas, Caste in Modern India and other Essays Asia Publishing House, Bombay 1962.

allocation of offices of profit, the caste factor again comes into evidence. Every major caste group expects and receives representation in state and union councils of Ministers. To make his position secure every state chief Minister sees to it that the composition of his council of Ministers is such that it strikes a satisfactory balance among the significant caste groups in his state!⁴⁴

In Maharashtra, the caste has gone a long way in politics. Important castes in the state are Marathas, Brahmins and Mahars. In the state though the Brahmins are not in a majority, yet they dominate political scene. But in the state Mahars are in good numbers and no political party can expect to establish its hold unless and until it can win the co-operation of this caste. In the state, congress has been in a position to maintain its hold only with their active co-operation. Marathas also formed the majority. About them Ambedker stated, "Those who are going to rule are not Marathas by speech, but Maratha by caste ; notwithstanding the hopes of the Brahmins. Now it cannot be denied that

44. From an article 'Caste & Politics in India' op.cit.

Marathas are politically the most backward community".⁴⁵ He added further that history had shown that the minorities especially the scheduled castes and tribes, would not get justice at the hands of the Marathas⁴⁶. There is no man of eminence among them (Marathas) such as Tilak, Gokhale or Ranade. The Maharashtrians today count for nothing".⁴⁷ He added, "If there are three Maharashtra states, three Marathas can be trained as chief ministers. We can do real service to ourselves by helping to educate our ministers"⁴⁸ Finally he told the Marathwada people. "The shrubs do not grow under a tree. The Marathwada people must not forget the moral of this story".⁴⁹

A decrease or increase in numbers of any caste or community has its direct effect on the elections. About the effect of caste politics on census, Ambedker says", politics in India has become a matter of numbers. It is numbers which give political advantage to one community over another which does not happen anywhere else in the world. The result is that the census in India is deliberately looked for securing political advantages which

45. Ambedker B.R. 'Thoughts on Linguistic States'.

46. Srinivas 'Castes in Modern India ' and other Essays.

47. Ambedker B.R. op.cit.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

numbers give. In this cooking of the census. The Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs have played their parts as the chiefs of the Kitchen. The untouchables and the Christians, who are also interested in their numbers have no hand in the cooking of the census, for the simple reason that they have no place in the administrative services of the country which deal with the operation of the census. On the other hand, the untouchables are the people who are quartered, cooked and served by the Hindus, Muslims and the Sikhs at every Decennial Census.⁵⁰ All this happened, specially at a time of the census of 1940. In some parts of Punjab, the untouchables were forced by Sikhs to enroll themselves as Sikhs whether they were Sikhs or not. Therefore, the number of Sikhs increased and untouchables became a minority. On the other side, the Hindus requested the Untouchables to enroll themselves as Hindus. Without mentioning the caste. They were told that on not mentioning their castes, they would be treated as Hindus and no one could detect about their being untouchables. The untouchables acted upon the advice of the Hindus, therefore, the number of caste Hindus increased while as number of untouchables decreased.⁵¹ Ambedker, showed this by preparing

50. Ambedker B.R. 'Mr. Gandhi and Emancipation of untouchables' .

51. Ibid.

a graphical representation of statistics of census of 1940 as compared to the census of 1931.

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TABLE - II

Variation in population by Communities, 1931-1941

Communities	Figures at Total India level accor- ding to census of 1931	Figures at Total India level acco- rding to census of 1941	Total percentag increase (+) Decrease(-)
Hindus	189654370	206117326	+26462956
Scheduled castes	49540770	48793180	-747590
Muslims	77677545	92058096	+14381551
Sikhs	4335771	5691447	+1355676
Chritians	6296763	6316119	+19786
Parsis	109752	114890	+5138

From these figures Dr. Ambedker came to the following conclusions :-

- (1) The population of Scheduled castes in 1941 as compared with their population in 1931 shows a decline.

- (ii) The population of all other communities during the same period shows an increase of 15 percent."⁵³

Ambedker demanded that an accurate figure for the population of the scheduled castes would be the census figure as corrected by the inclusions of the population for Ajmer- Merwara and Gwalier state (figure of which were not counted to in Census of 1941) plus an increase of 15% to give them the benefit of the general rise in the population. He regarded that untouchables would not be less than 6 cores.

Thus, census has become a political affair. Every community seems to be attempting artificially to augment its numbers at the cost of some other community for the sake of capturing greater and greater degree of political power in its own hands.⁵⁴ Ambedker described two sorts of majorities. One was political majority and the other communal majority. To him, political majority is changeable in its class composition. A political majority grows. A communal majority is born. The admission to a political majority is open. The door to a communal majority is closed. The policies of a political majority are free to all to make and unmake. The policies

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

of a communal majority are made by its own members born in it. As regards the tyranny of the communal majority, it was not an idle threat . It was an experience of many minorities. This experience to Maharashtrian Brahmins being very recent it was unnecessary to dilate upon it.⁵⁵

Ambedker thought that in linguistic provinces the evil consequences of the caste system were sure to be sharpened. According to him, linguism in our country was another name for communalism. He treated the problem of safeguards against the communal tyranny. He stated that larger the state the smaller the proportion of minority to the majority. He gave one illustration if Mahavidarbha remained separate, the proportion of Hindus to Muslims would be four to one. In the United Maharashtra , The proportion will be fourteen to one. The same would be the case of the untouchables .He said, "A small stone of a consolidated majority placed on the chest of the minority may be borne. But the weight of a huge mountain it cannot

55. Ambedker B.R. 'Thoughts on Linguistic States'

bear. It will crush the minorities ".⁵⁶ Therefore According to him the creation of smaller states was a safeguard to the minorities. The other safeguard was the provision of representation in the legislature. According to him, separate electorates or reservation of seats must not be resorted to. It would be enough to have plural member constituencies (of two or three) with cumulative voting in place of the system of single-member constituency embodied in the present constitution. This would allay the fears which the minorities entertained about linguistic states.⁵⁷ For this, constitution must be amended and provision must be made for a system of plural number constituencies (2 or 3) with cumulative voting.⁵⁸

According to Ambedkar, free and fair election is the one of the pillars on which parliamentary democracy rests. Election must be completely free and fair. He remarked that 'Big Business' was trying to play a great part in political life of this country. He said "congress is accepting the financial help of the Baniyas, Marwaries and other multi-millionaries. Congress is eating their food and it follows, therefore, naturally That congress will have to take the side of these 'Big Business at all crucial times."⁵⁹

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. From his speech on 'Future of Parliamentary Democracy delivered on Oct. 28, 1951 in The D. A. V. College, Jullundar City(Punjab).

In fact, under present system of election, the Minorities are not able to elect their true representatives. Therefore Ambedker said also on 30 September, 1956, that the reservation in legislatures and present election system should be abolished and be replaced by proportional Representation or Commulative voting system.⁶⁰

60. Sanpla, B.R. 'Ambedker Jayanti Par Ham Ambedker Mission to Kaise Ujjawal Kare', (Hindi), Amar Jyoti Printing Press Jalandhar (Punjab).

'THE STRUGGLE OF THE UNTOUCHABLE AND THE NATIONAL FREEDOM
MOVEMENT'

Part - I : Gandhi's approach to the Problem of the untouchables

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has criticised Gandhiji more bitterly than any other leader of the country criticised by him. Most of the times, Ambedkar opposed Gandhi because of his anti-untouchable role played at a time of separate electorate granted to depressed classes and his firm desire to maintain chaturvarna as the basis of Hindu religion. Gandhi considered the God as the originator of Chaturvarna i.e. caste system, therefore it must be maintained. He wanted to keep untouchables away from political platform, by declaring himself as the their savior and representative at the Round table conferences. But he could not succeed in his this aim due to severe opposition made by Ambedkar.

As regards the attitude of Gandhi towards untouchables, D.R. Jatava writes, "Gandhi and other congress stalwarts like Patel and Rajendra Prasad wanted, Ambedkar and the Depressed classes to surrender to them so that they could be used as tools in the fight against British imperialism for India's political freedom. Ambedkar opposed this move and at the same time wanted the depressed classes to fight against the Hindu social imperialism and the British Political imperialism. He not only wanted among them social upsurge but

also political revolt in their own way independently.¹ With respect to the removal of untouchability, one of the political programmes of the congress, Gandhi said that "without the removal of this curse, swaraj is a meaningless term." By this, according to Ambedker Gandhi wanted to create the illusions so that these may be used as arguments to support his movement.² In the talks with Ambedker on 14 August, 1931 in Bombay, Gandhi explained to him how in spite of opposition from his colleagues he introduced the removal of untouchability as one of the main programmes of the congress; but Ambedker replied: "Congress did nothing beyond giving formal recognition to this problem."³ He further said: "Had it been sincere, it would have surely made the removal of untouchability a condition, like the bearing of Khaddar for becoming a member of the congress".⁴ He told him that Hindus were not showing signs of change of heart towards the problem of untouchables. He said, "we are not prepared to have faith in great leaders and Mahatmas. Let me be brutally frank about it. History tells that mahatmas like fleeting phantoms raise dust, but no level."⁵ Ambedker also asked "why should the congressmen oppose our movement and club me as traitor? He explained that untouchables could not love this land,

1. J. D. Jaisankar, Dr. Ambedkar's Role in National Movement, Buddha Sahitya Sammelan 1979.

2. Ambedkar B. R. What Congress and Gandhi have done to untouchables, Thacker, (Bombay) 1946.

3. Keer, D., Dr. Ambedkar; Life and Mission popular (Bombay) 1962.

4. Ibid.

5. Ambedkar B. R. op.cit.

could not call it their own land, because of the injustice inflicted on untouchables. He said: "If at all I have rendered any national service. it is due to my unsullied conscience and not due to any patriotic feeling in me".

Gandhi claimed that he represented all the sections and all communities including the untouchables. Ambedker opposed it and asked his men to denounce the attitude of Gandhi. Ambedker said that Gandhi valued more his reputation as the savior of the untouchables than his reputation as the champion of swaraj or as protagonist of ahimsa.⁶ According to him, "As a unifying force Gandhi was a failure."⁷

All the participators and supporters of the Minorities pact were strongly opposed by Gandhi at the round table conference. He was particularly furious at the recognition given to the untouchables as a separate political entity. With respect to the recognition of separate political entity of untouchables, he said I can understand the claims advanced by other communities ; but the claim advanced on behalf of the untouchables that is the unkindest cut of all. It means the perpetual bar sinister. I would not sell the vital interests of the untouchables even for the sake of winning the freedom of India".⁸ He warned that the separate electorate and the separate reservation were not the ways to remove that

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

bar sinister. He regarded untouchability as no part of Hinduism. He said, "I would for rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived."⁹ Gandhiji remarked that "the bitter experiences that he (Ambedker) had undergone has for the moment warped his judgement". According to Gandhi the claim that Ambedker represented whole of the untouchables of India was not tenable. He thought that the attitude of Ambedker would create division of Hinduism.

According to Gandhi, if separate electorates were given, then there would be a division among villagers, the lives of untouchables as villagers would be miserable since villages were the strong holds of Hindu orthodoxy.¹⁰ He thought that the proposal for a special representation of Muslims or Sikhs could be tolerated, but only "as a necessary evil", but separate electorate for the untouchables were positive danger to the untouchables. This attitude was not shared by Ambedker and his followers. According to Gandhi the only way to the problem was to put untouchables on voters' list and give them fundamental rights in the constitution. To Gandhi, untouchability was a stigma on Hindu religion, In the near future it would vanish. But separate electorate to the untouchables will ensure them bondage in perpetuity.¹¹

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

Gandhi's view was that the adult franchise combined with a powerful and moral social drive against untouchability was the true means of liberation.¹² Ambedker criticised the Gandhi when he took fast unto death against safeguards granted to untouchables. Gandhi wanted to nullify them completely- As a result, poona pact was concluded according to which, as Ambedker proved, untouchables were completely disenfranchised^{12a}. It was embodied in the Government of Indias Act. 1935.

As regards Gandhi's joining of untouchables's Temple entry movment Ambedker said that the Gandhi's aim in joining it was to distroy the basis of the claim of untouchables for political rights by distroying the barrier between them and the Hindus which made them seperate from Hindus. He characterised Gandhi's temple entry movement as a stronge game of political acrobatics. He remarked "when the Hindus threaten to defeat the congress in the election, Gandhi, in order to preserve political power in the hands of the congress, gives up temple entry".¹³ To Tinnah, it was Gandhi who converted congress into communal body.¹⁴ If the economic conditions of untouchables reformed, then there traditional social usages would automatically be removed¹⁵ Referring to 'Harijan Fund'

12. Santhanam, K., Ambedkar's Attack The Hindustan Press, New Delhi, 1946, p.34.

12a. See Supra chap. 3p..

13. Ambedkar B.R. op.cit.

14. Bose/Ratwardhan, Gandhi in Indian Politics, Lalvoni (Bombay) 1967, p. 33.

15. Babu Jagjivan Ram; Jivan Aur Vijaktiwa Depressed Classes League is Publication New Delhi 1956, p.104.

started by Gandhi, Ambedker said that its main object was to enslave untouchable, to the camp of caste Hindus and congress.¹⁶

Ambedker opposed Gandhian Satyagraha because he thought that Gandhi had never used the weapon of satyagraha against the Hindus to get them throw open wells and temples to the untouchables. He said there was not a single fast undertaken by Gandhiji for the removal of untouchability.¹⁷

When Ambedker was asked to join Gandhi's Camp, he frankly replied that he vitally differed from Gandhi on many points and said "he would not sacrifice his conscience for his success".¹⁸ He remarked that Gandhi had always discriminated between the constitutional safeguards of untouchables and other communities; but he had never explained his reasons. He remarked that Muslims and Sikhs were fragments of old ruling communities, therefore Gandhi favoured them. So the untouchables could not regard such a man as "sincere" and "honest".¹⁹ According to him; Gandhiji wished to retain caste and abolish untouchability. He said "such a man cannot be a friend of untouchables".²⁰

Ambedker observed that Gandhiji did not wish to antagonise the caste-Hindus. When the untouchables were

16. Jatav, D.R. 'To the critics of Dr Ambedker;' Jan Utthan Parishad, New Delhi', 1975.

17. Ambedkar B.R. op.cit.

18. Keer, D. Dr. Ambedkar op.cit.

19. Ambedkar B.R. op.cit.

20. Ibid.

launching satyagraha campaigns, Gandhi surprised the untouchables by issuing a statement condemning their campaign of satyagraha against the Hindus. He stated that "satyagraha was to be used only against Foreigners."²¹ Ambedker believed that Gandhi did not want the untouchables to organise and be strong. To him, "the Harijan Sevak Sangh under the pretence of service was out to kill the spirit of independence from among the untouchables."²²

Gandhi made it absolutely clear that removal of untouchability did not mean interdining or intermarriage between the caste Hindus and the untouchables. His anti-untouchability, according to Ambedkar, was that the untouchables would be classified as Shudras in stead of ati-shudras. They were to follow their hereditary professions. Hinduism believed in caste, cowworship upheld the law of Karma, Predestination of man's condition in this world accepted the authority of the Shastras, believed in avatars or incarnations of God and idols all this is accepted by Gandhism. Ambedker, remarked : All that the Gandhism has done is to find a philosophic justification for Hinduism and its dogma.²³

Ambedker was of the opinion that under the leadership of Gandhi Hindu Society if it did not become a political

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

madhouse, certainly became made after politics. He remarked that Gandhiji's so called mesmerism could not capture him. Jawahar Nehru and Subhas Bose Yielded to Gandhi but he could never do so, and if he ever entered the congress, he thought he would shine out there by dint of his merits.²⁴ Gandhi gave word 'Harijan' to untouchables which was opposed by Ambedker.²⁵

Ambedker described the Gandhi age as an age in which people are returning to anti-quity; they have ceased to think for themselves, ceased to read and examine the facts of their lives".²⁵ He referred to the age of Ranade as the age of Renaissance.

Gandhi wanted the untouchables to be led and dragged by the congress into the battle against British regime, where as Ambedker asked the Untouchables to lead themselves, contribute within the limits of resources available to them, achieve independently, in the struggle for freedom. It was this basic difference in their approaches which subsequently decided the role of Gandhi and Ambedker with regard to the untouchable's political status vis-a-vis other communities during the national movement, in fact, Gandhi called the untouchables, 'The slaves of slaves'²⁷ and curiously enough, he asked them first to first against

24. Keer D, Dr. Ambedker: life and Mission.

25. Issae, World R, 'India's Ex-untouchables' Bombay Asia publishing House, 1965, p. 40.

26. Ambedkar B.R. 'Federation Versus Freedom' Bheem Patrika (Jullunder) 1970.

27. Young India, 20 October, 1920.

rulers of the Hindus, i.e., the Britons, in the national movement; and later on, after independence, the Hindus would endeavour to remove their social disabilities. Was it not to misuse the man-power of the untouchables? Why should they first fight against the masters of their masters? Why not to wage war against both of them i.e., the British Political imperialism and the Hindu social imperialism simultaneously under the able guardianship of their own leaders?

It is, more or less, true fact that no depressed class leader of any time did more to sting the conscience of caste Hinduism. Had Ambedkar not lived, the lot of depressed classes might never have been so dramatically projected. Ambedkar in his personality posed a direct, provocative challenge to the caste Hindus.²⁸ Ambedkar and Gandhi both differed in their approach not only with regard to the political rights of the untouchables but in many other respects also.²⁹ The essence of Ambedkar's movement was the way of self-recovery through some vital upheaval from within. The explosive forces needed must be generated within the soul of untouchable community itself. It could not come through gifts and grants from without. It must come from within the depressed people, and their spirit must be kept in the state of revolution so that they could stand by themselves in any sort of adversity.

28. Frank Mordes, 'Witness to An Era', Holt (NY), 1973, pp 47-48.

29. Ahir, D.C., 'Gandhi And Ambedkar', Jullundar, 1979, p.29.

(A) PART -II : 'AMBEDKER'S STAND TOWARDS THE POLICY OF CONGRESS
WITH RESPECT TO THE UNTOUCHABLES'

A consistent anti-congress trend is seen throughout the reasoning and the movements of Ambedker. Dr. Ambedker has criticised the congress because of the policy which it followed with respect to the problem of the untouchable. He once remarked that no untouchable became president of the Congress from 1885 to 1940.¹

It was 1916, when some attention was paid to the pitiable condition of untouchables in socio-religious field. There was no political recognition of untouchable in India upto 1917. For the first time in the political history of India. The representation of the Untouchables put forth their grievances before Lord E. Montagu. In 1917, Ambedker who was an ordinary figure in India's power politics, asked the existing organisations of untouchables to stand by themselves. Some important institutions like the Panchama Kavli Abhivarthi-Abhimanu Sangha, the Madras Adi-Dravid Jan Sangh, the Bengal untouchable classes organization, and the Depressed classes Mission of India, appeared before Montagu to explain their miserable position and grievances. These organisations appealed

1. Times of India, Bombay, 19 Dec. 1939.

to the British Govt. to save the untouchables from the age long thralldom of caste Hindus. Sir N.G. Chandavarkar, the president of the Depressed classes Mission, too, sought an interview with Montagu and asked for the removal of social and political disabilities of untouchables.²

From the time of this event onward, the cause of untouchables started to be recognised in India's politics. Congress men soon became conscious of their existence, who uptill now considered their social misery as being beyond the domain and deliberation of congress session. The congress's new found love for Depressed classes, however emanated from an ulterior motive of winning their support and cooperation for the congress-league scheme in which, no notice was taken of political existence of untouchables.

In 1917, Mrs. Besant, the president of I.N. Congress advocated a practical policy for uplifting the untouchables without neglecting them any more in social and political process of the country. In fact, under presidentship of Mrs. Besant, "The Congress broke its long standing rule of ignoring social questions."³ Having the Lucknow pact in mind, at its Calcutta session in December 1917, under

2. Jataw D.R., Dr. Ambedker's Role in National Movement, Buddha Mahitya Sammelan, New Delhi, 1979.

3. Heimsath, C.H., Indian Nationalism & Hindu Social Reform. Princeton (New Jersey) 1964, p.342.

her presidentship , the congress, therefore passed the following resolution : "the Congress urges upon the people of India the necessity, justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the Depressed classes , the disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting those classes to considerable hardship and inconvenience."⁴

Naturally a question arises : why congress decided to pass such a resolution in 1917 after a lapse of three decades since its inception in 1885 ? What made it think about cognizance of the poor untouchables ? According to Ambedkar , there were two main reason of the passing. this, resolution by congress. In view of Montagu's announced policy of "gradual development of self-governing institutions" the congress had its own scheme and it wanted the support of all Depressed classes so that British Government could accept its proposals. This was the first reason and secondly, it enlisted services of N.G. Chandavarkar, a Brahmin , an ex-president of the Congress (Lahore :1900) for mobilising the depressed classes to support the scheme. He was also the president of the Depressed Classes Mission of India. It was, as a result of his influence that a section of the Depressed Classes agreed to support the congress. It was

4. Covett, V.A. History of the Indian Nationalist Movement , 1972 p.30.

however, not unconditioning support. Sir Chandavakar and his Depressed classes friends agreed to support on the condition that congress passed a resolution for removal of the social disabilities of the untouchables. The congress resolution thus was a fulfilment of its part of the contract with the Depressed classes which was negotiated through Sir Naryana Chandavakar."⁵

There was a large section of Depressed classes which however did not like to give any support to the C.L. Scheme. It contained nothing for untouchables. The meeting of expressed classes under the chairmanship of Bapuji Namdeo Bagade on Nov. 20, 1917, opposed it and resolved that the Indian administration should largely be under the control of British till all classes, especially the depressed classes, rise up to a condition to effectively participate in the affairs of the country. It was really due to this blow to the R.L. Scheme that the Hindu leaders started thinking and recognising the existence of untouchables. It was however, Ambedker, who could know, that how the Congress had befocled the Depressed classes by its resolution of 1917.. What happened to the Resolution ? No one knew it. The congress forgot the Resolution the day it was passed. There was an ulterior motive behind the Congress Resclution. That motive was not a spritual motive. It was a political

5. Ambedker B.R., What Congress & Gandhi Have Done to untouchables.

motive", said Ambedker⁶ the Congress Resolution was an expedient which was not seriously implemented".⁷ Its main objective was political and constitutional rather than social and religious.

In exchange for giving its support to the congress-league scheme, the depressed classes Mission of India had passed a resolution calling upon the higher castes, who claimed political right, to take steps for the purpose of removing the blot of degradation from depressed classes, which has subjected these classes to the worst of treatment in their own country." What did the Congress do to give effect to this demand of depressed classes ? In return Congress was bound to organise a drive against untouchability to give effect to the sentiments expressed in its resolution of 1917. According to Ambedker the passing of resolution, at a instance of Gandhi was in fact a heartless transaction and entirely opposed to the declared policy of congress.⁸

Depressed classes Mission of India held its first All-India Depressed classes conference on March 23-24, 1918, under the presidentship of Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad of Baroda, and attended by eminent personality like Vithalbhai Patel, M.R. Jayakar B.C. Pal, B.G. Tilak, A.V. Thakkar and

6. Ibid.

7. Natarajan, S., A Century of Social Reform in India, Asia (New Delhi) 1959.

8. Jataw, D.R. op.cit.

G.S. Khaparde It asked whole of India, including the Caste Hindu to remove in blot of untouchability. Tilak made a fervent appeal not to tolerate untouchability. At the same time, he did not sign an All India Anti-untouchability Manifesto.⁹

With regard to an agitation by lower castes for separate representation in Indian legislatures, Tilak said "their business was to obey the laws and not to aspire for power to make laws".¹⁰ How then could he have signed the pledge not to observe untouchability, though he had spoken fervently against it earlier ?

The social reform conference was an eye sore to the congressmen who belonged to the anti-social reform sections. Ambedker remarked that the opposition to the social Reform Conference was headed by no other person than Tilak ¹¹ to a slogan 'Swaraj is my birth right' of Tilak, Ambedker said "Had he born among untouchables he would have demanded "Removing untouchability is my birth right".¹²

The Congress under Gandhi, began a programme of social emancipation of the Depressed classes, to that effect, the congress working committee (C.W.C.) in its February meeting (1922), at Bandoli passed an important resolution to organize

9. Ibid.

10. From a public speech delivered at Solapur in 1918 Quoted in Ambedker B.R. what long & Gandhi, have done to Congress untouchables.

11. Ambedker B.R. op.cit.

12. Ibid.

the Depressed classes for a better life, to improve their social, mental and moral condition, to induce them to send their children to national school and to provide for them the ordinary facilities which the other citizens enjoy¹³. But the C.W.C. had no real interest in their emancipation. Therefore the year 1922 passed without any solid work for their emancipation.

The congress working committee resolution (1922) requested All India Hindu Mahasabha to take up the work of abolishing untouchability and remove the evil from amidst the Hindu community.¹⁴ Criticising the step of C.W.C., Ambedker said, "If there is any body which is quite unfit for addressing itself to the problems of untouchables it is the Hindu Mahasabha. It is not a social reform association. It is purely political organisation."¹⁵ In brief, it was to represent the Hindu Nationalism by opposing, Muslim communalism.¹⁶

Was it not to add insult to injury by relegating the work of the uplift of untouchables to such a body which has even today, no relevance to untouchables' social aspiration. The fact, however, is that the congress wanted to get rid of the problems of the untouchables. For, it did not wish to invite wrath of the caste Hindus. But at the same time, it wanted to

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Nehru, J.L., An Autography, Allied (Bombay), 1962, p.159.

make their issue an appendage to its constructive programme without antagonising the orthodox Hindu elements in the nationalist movement. Whilst, therefore, the congress thought, that in places where the prejudice against the untouchables was still strong, separate schools and separate well must be maintained out of the congress funds. However, every effort should be made to draw such children to national schools and to persuade the people to allow them to use the common well.¹⁷ But the Congress did not spend even one percent of the crores of rupees it had collected, on the amelioration of socio-economic conditions of the depressed classes. In stead, the congress spent the public money from Tilak Swaraj Fund for nursing their own constituencies without any qualms of conscience.¹⁸ Gandhi was a witness to all that was openly plundered out of the Tilak Swaraj fund. It can better be understood from following data :-

Tilak Swaraj Fund ¹⁹

	Rs	Anna	Pai
1) Amount collected during 1921, 1922, and 1923	13019415	15	7
2) Total amount given to different states during three years.	4950000	0	0
3) Amount given to Gujrat states(Gandhi's home state) out of (2)	3600000		
4) Amount passed for a matro-ration of untouchables	200000	0	0
5) Real amount passed out of No(4) for <u>amelioration</u> of untouchables .	43381	0	0

17. Vide AICC's Resolution May 1923, Bombay.

18. Ambedker B.R. What Congress, op.cit.

19. Bah L.R. Dr. Ambedker Jivan and Mission, Bheem Patrika Publication, Jullundur, 1979.

Why could Gandhi not save a large part of this Fund organised loot by Congress leaders, for the benefit of poor untouchables, Gandhi's arguments were remarkable for their subtlety and sophistry ".

In Nov. 1918, the Congress condemned the Mont-Ford Report as disappointing and unsatisfactory.²⁰ It was very significant one from the point of view of the depressed classes. This Report had recognised for the first time, the existence of the untouchables. The Report had admitted that in India, some stronger and cleverer elements were oppressing the weaker classes, and until it was clear that the interests of the oppressed could be safely represented and considered in Legislative councils, the British must retain power to protect them.

In 1919, Ambedker explained to the South borough committee dealing with franchise in the light of Mont-Ford Reforms, the horrible conditions of untouchables and demanded separate electorate with reserved seats in proportion to their population. A few days later, he also spelled out his views on the demand of for home rule ²¹. He argued that before demanding home rule, it was the duty of caste Hindus to

20. The Gazetteer of India Vol.II p.570.

21. Letter to the Editor ; The Times of India 16 Jan 1919.

bring the lower and depressed classes on a ladder of social equality, for they belonged to the same religion, country and society, and had the same aspirations for liberty and home rule. Home Rule was as much the birth right of a Brahmin as that of an untouchable. without their elevation in social esteem, the day on which India would have Home rule was distant. In other words, the Southborough committee too recognised the separate political existence of untouchables and strongly recommended that the measures should be taken to protect the interests of the Depressed classes in the ensuing constitutional reforms.²²

The Government of India Act (1919) for the first time in Indian history recognised the political — constitutional existence of the Depressed classes. But this Act proved to be a failure in the sense that the objective for the sake of which it was introduced was not realised, there was no real transfer of power to people, no genuine responsible government even in the limited sphere of transferred subject."

Gandhi after having declared himself as a leader of untouchables in 1920, asked them to follow him in the national movement. According to Ambedkar, the Mahatma wanted to make the Panchamas his devout disciples and use them in

22. Extract from the 5th Despatch of Government of India, dated 23rd April 1919 on the report of Southborough Committee on Franchise.

23. Sarda, J.P., Indian Constitutional Development & National Movement (Meerut) 1951.

(as the tools of) caste Hindus fight against the British imperialism. It was, indeed, a fact that "Congress and Gandhi saw the need of gaining the political support of untouchables, if only to assure their being counted as Hindus in the calculations for communal representations in the reformed legislatures, Gandhi asked the caste Hindus to undertake the work of removal of untouchability.

At this time Ambedker, stressed more on political progress of untouchable "He was right in stating that progress for the depressed classes after 1920 was a political, not a social issue " ²⁴ Ambedker asked the untouchables, first not to be beguiled by the congress and Gandhi and secondly to realise their own responsibility to rise in life, this may appear a minor point of variance, but it reflected the deeper ideological differences involving the relative worth of the two different approaches during the national movement.

Government of India Act.1935 gave the right of vote to only about 10% of people of the country. Ambedker analysed the results of 1937 election and came to the conclusion that congress was not a majority party-the congress not even obtained 50 percent of votes. According to Ambedker the Congress claim to represent all classes and communities

24. Heimsath, C.H. , 'Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform' Princeton (New Jersey) 1964.

was a hollow one, with no foundation in fact²⁵. The system of joint electorates and reserved seats which was in operation was a system of two member constituency. The Hindus under the Congress were so completely organised that there was no possibility of electoral contest and consequent waste of votes. The result was that the system helped the Hindus to win the reserved seats and worked against the scheduled castes.²⁶

According to Ambedker the number of seats captured by a party was not always in proportion to the number of votes caste in favour of the party and often a party carried a majority of seats with minority of votes. This was particularly true when the singular member constituency system prevailed as it did in India. Ambedker showed that the untouchables candidates triumphed over the congress because they got 82 percent votes of their community in the primary elections.²⁷

The congress aimed at reestablishing a democratic form of government²⁸. It wanted democratic form of government based on adult franchise with no safeguards for untouchables. Ambedker remarked that if there were no

25. Ambedker B.R. op.cit.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Rajgopalachari C. Ambedker Re: uted, Mind Kitab (Bombay), 1946, p.8.

guarantees to the untouchables, the result would be that the Hindu Communal majority would not only capture the legislature, the executive and the administration, but these would be over run by the Hindu communal majority. As a result, these powerful organs of state, instead of protecting the minorities would become the tools of the Hindu Communal majority doing its bidding.²⁹ He maintained that the Hindu Communal majority was the backbone of the Congress, and the congress, therefore, was bound to protect its rights. The social psychology of the Hindu Communal majority was dominated by the dogma which recognised not merely inequality but graded inequality as the rule governing the interrelationship among the various communities. According to Ambedker, "This dogma of graded inequality is absolutely inimical to liberty and fraternity."³⁰ He was of the opinion that the political safeguards to counteract the evil of graded inequality were guarantees for minimum representation in the legislature, the executive and the public services. He remarked that these demands of the scheduled castes were ridiculed by the congress as "communalism" and the leaders of the untouchables were represented as "job hunters".³¹

29. Ambedker B.R. op.cit.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

Ambedker wanted to refer the dispute between Hindus and untouchables to an international board of arbitration . Ambedker maintained firmly, that the untouchables were a seperate element in the national life of India he said : "They are distinct and seperate from Hindus .³² What the Congress believed was just contrary to his views. According to Ambedker. European nationalities were Chritians by religion, still they were different , Whites and negroes were both Chritians, but they formed different Communities. Indian Chritians , Anglo-Indian and Europeans followed the same religion, still they did not form a single community .Sikhs, Mazbi Sikhs, Ramadasia Sikhs- all professed Sikhism, but it was accepted that they did not form one community.³³

Ambedker expressed his view that the congress was failure in yealising that the fundamental issue for settling the question whether to grant or not to grant constitutional safeguards was union versus seperation of sccial group in the population. Muslims and chritians were given political recognition because they formed,in fact, seperate elements from Hindus. He remarked ; Hindus and social union are incompatible. If Hindus wish to be one they will have to

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

discard Hinduism .. Hinduism is the greatest obstacle to Hindu Unity.³⁴ The problem was to achieve liberty and equality for a minority from the hands of a hostile majority, Therefore , essentially the problem of untouchables was fundamentally a political problem.

According to Ambedker, the system of untouchability was a gold mine to the Hindus he said "Untouchability was not only a system of unmitigated economic exploitation, but it was also a system of uncontrolled economic exploitation. This was because there was no independent public opinion to condemn it and there was no impartial machinery of administration to restrain it. Hindus belonged to the exploiting class "³⁵ Ambedker thought that Swaraj in stead of putting an end to untouchability, might extend its life.³⁶ He was of the view that in Swaraj the untouchables would get no privileges but the perpetuation of slavery.

The leftists and radical parties of Europe and America were also criticised by Ambedker for giving blind and unquestioned support to the congress which was admittedly run by capitalists, Landlords, money lenders and reactionaries. The press correspondents of journals were

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

almost always from the congress camp. A foreigner believed that the congress had the representative character and it was fighting for India. But he maintained that the 1937 election showed that the congress did not represent the nation. A foreigner never thought of distinction between freedom of country and freedom of people in the country. India might become free but the people of India (like untouchables) might not become free. He asked: "is it necessary to tell them that to support congress is to let tyranny have freedom to enslave?"³⁷

Ambedker visualized the Brahmin-Bania class as a governing class in India instead of Brahmin Kshatriya combine as it used to be. He said, "this class would not disappear by magic of Swaraj"³⁸ In proportion to their numbers the Brahmins had secured overwhelming representation. The representative of Bania was also overwhelming. He held that Swaraj would not be government by people, but it would be a government run by the governing class, and in the absence of government by the people, government for the people would be of what the governing class would choose

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

to make of it. Whenever servile classes asked for reservation in legislatures, the executive or the Public service, the governing class raised the cry of "nationalism in danger". Far from sacrificing its privileges for nationalism, it was exploiting nationalism to preserve them.³⁹

Ambedker pointed out that, "the fight for freedom" led by the governing class was, from the point of view of the servile classes, a selfish struggle. The freedom which the governing class in India was struggling for was freedom to rule the servile classes. What it wanted was the freedom for the Master race to rule the subject race which was nothing but the nazi or Nietzschean doctrine of freedom for superman to rule the common man.⁴⁰ The governing class was aware that a political campaign based on class ideologies, class interests, class issues and class conflicts, would toll its death knell. It knew that the most effective way of side tracking the servile classes and fooling them was to play upon the sentiment of nationalism and national unity and realised that the congress platform was the only platform that could most effectively safeguard the interests of the governing classes. For if there was any platform from which all talks of conflict between rich and poor. Brahmin

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

and non Brahmin, land lord and tenant, creditor and debtor, which did not suit the governing classes was debarred, it was the congress platform . The congress was not only bound to preach nationalism and national unity which was what the governing classes wanted and on which its safety entirely depended but also prohibited the preaching of any other ideology inconsistent with nationalism from its platform .⁴¹ To Ambedker, the reservations demanded by servile classes were, in fact, controls over the power of the governing classes.⁴²

After the resignation of the Congress ministries in November, 1939, Jinnah called on Muslims throughout India to observe "Deliverance Day" on 22 December 1939. Ambedker declared that he would like to join Jinnah in celebrating the Deliverance Day. He however explained that it was not an anti-Hindu move, it was anti-congress and therefore purely political.⁴³ He and his independent labour party also participated in it. In a statement to the press, he asked for the appointment of a Royal commission to investigate the cases of tyranny and oppression by the congress Ministries. To Ambedker, the policy of "Hindus for

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., p. 234.

43. The times of India, Bombay , 19 Dec. 1939.

Hindustan was not merely arrant but arrant nonsense.⁴⁴

Ambedker criticised the congress for its policy of non-inclusion of the representatives of minorities in its cabinet. One of the reasons given for it by the congress was that a cabinet must be the party cabinet if it was to take collective responsibility. The minorities could be included in the cabinet only when they were prepared to join the congress and sign its pledge⁴⁵ According to Ambedker it was a part of congress policy not to admit the right of untouchables to be represented in the cabinet and this policy had the support of Gandhiji. He showed that amongst the candidates selected by the congress for the legislature, the candidates from Brahmin and other allied communities were the most highly educated, the candidates from non-Brahmins were moderately educated; the candidates from untouchables were just above literates. It was designed to allow none but Brahmins and allied castes^{to} form the main part of ministry and to secure for them the support of a docile unintelligent crowd of non-Brahmins and untouchables who would be no rivals but would be content to follow the lead for no other consideration except that of having been raised to the status of members of the legislatures.⁴⁶

44. Ambedker B.R. 'Pakistan or Partition of India' Tacker & Co.Ltd. Bombay III Edition, 1948, p.28.

45. Ambedker B.R. 'Poon Pact' Buddhist Publishing House, Jalandhar, 1982.

46. Ibid.

In the election campaign of 1937, Ambedker in a public meeting had denounced the congress as a tool, in the hands of the capitalists ; and remarked that it was looking against the interest of workers and peasants.⁴⁷ In a conference of peasant at Mahad in 1938, he attacked the Bombay ministry as a tool in the hands of Sardar Patel and Gujarati Capitalists. They were the enemies of Maharashtra and the untouchables.⁴⁸ On being persuaded by the peasant leader from Bihar in 1938, to join the congress to form a united front against imperialism. Ambedker replied that he would be glad to liquidate the independent labour Party and join the congress party if the congress decided to fight imperialism. But he said that the congress was using the constitutional machinery to advance the interests of the capitalists and other vested interests by sacrificing the interests of peasants and workers, and therefore he could not join such an organisation.⁴⁹

Ambedker charged that Nehru government and the Congress party had failed to give to the people a pure and incorruptible administration. He accused the congress of not providing food and clothing to the people; and said that the congress failed to give to the people an administration free from corruption, bribery, nepotism and favouritism .

47. Ghorpade A.K., Life of Ambedker, p.180.

48. Ibid.

49. Keer, Dr Ambedker: Life and Mission.

What stood in its way, according to him, was the congress itself, because it did not believe in purity of administration . He charged that the congress was being conducted on the basis of personal allegiance. 50

Ambedker criticised Nehru that he always kept him in suspense for giving a such department where by he could work for the walefare of masses but he never gave him that. 51

Ambedker, in this way, upheld the interests of the untouchables in Indian politics and consistently opposed the policy of the Congress, which in his view, neglected their undersigned rights for liberty and equality.

50. The Times of India, 15 Nov.1956.

51. Keer, Dr. Ambedker ;Life and Mission, Popular (Bombay) 1962.

"POLITICAL GAINS OF SCHEDULED CASTE AND SCHEDULED TRIBES"

PART-I : Constitutional Safeguards :

A - "The Poona Pact" -

After having studied the situation well, "he (Ambedker) was right in stating that progress for the depressed classes after 1920 was a political, not a social issue"¹ To him, the question of the untouchables' s demands was uppermost. While screening Nehru' s efforts in this context, he found that Nehru was even not aware of the condition of the untouchables, he said, "He draws his inspiration from the Jefferonian Declaration, but has he ever expressed any shame or any remorse about the condition of the 60 million of untouchables ? Has he any where referred to them in the torrent of literature which comes out from his pen ? " asked Ambedker², with his crusade for social equality and political rights for the depressed classes. Ambedker in the middle of 1930, declared his belief in India's political freedom from the yoke of the British imperialism. In the prevailing political atmosphere, however he wanted adequate safeguards for the

1. Heimsath, C.H, Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform, Princeton (New Jersay), 1964, p. 252.

2. Ambedker, D.R. Mr. Gandhi & The Emancipation of the Untouchables.

Depressed classes in the ensuing constitutional reforms. The call of Ambedker marked the beginning of a great movement which would result in the emancipation of his people and the establishment of such a state of society in this country in which man would have equal value in all domains of life-political, social, and economic, Ambedker said "As regards myself I will demand what is rightful for my people and I will certainly uphold the demand for Swaraj"³ He further said "that they (compressed) classes could not consent to any selfgoverning constitution for India unless their demands are met in a reasonable manner"⁴. At first Round Table Conference, there was a problem of adjusting political interests of different communities in the changing constitutional pattern of the country.⁵ Ambedker stressed that power should be shared by all communities in their respective proportions. He submitted a memorandum to the minorities committee, which contained safeguards for the protection of the Depressed classes. The safeguards that were formulated by him, demanded inter dia : -

3. Keer, D. Dr. Ambedker : life and mission .

4. Coupland ; The Constitutional Problem of India ' oxford University Press, 1945, p.120.

5. Raghuvanshi, V.P.S. , 'Indian Nationalist Movement and Thought, Laxminarain (Agra) 1959, p.278.

(1) To secure the abolition of untouchability and to create the equality of citizenship;

(ii) To have free enjoyment of equal rights by all;

(iii) To declare an offence the social boycott of the depressed classes by the caste Hindus;

(iv) To ensure adequate representation in the legislatures. Central and provincial for the depressed classes.

(v) To provide them with adult suffrage and separate electorates for the first ten years and thereafter by joint electorates and reserved seats.

(vi) To give adequate representation in the services, i.e. to organise the services in such a manner as well secure due and adequate representation of all communities ;

(vii) To redress the grievances of the depressed classes against prejudicial action or neglect of interests and special developmental care ; and

(viii) To provide the depressed classes with some representation in the forming of cabinet and the decision making of the Government.⁶

With a view to justifying the demands of 1/5th of the total population of India, Ambedker told the delegates of the conference : "The depressed classes form a group by

6. The Memorandum, Submitted to the Minorities Committee of R.T.C, dated 12th November 1930, which contained, "A scheme of Political Safeguards for the protection of the Depressed classes in the future constitution of a self-governing India".

themselves which is distinct and separate from the Mohammadar and, although they are included among the Hindus, they in so sense form an integral part of that community. Not only have they a separate existence, but they have also assigned to them a status which is individually distinct from the status occupied by any other community in India.⁷

Ambedker wanted the new constitutional machinery of a special make. The constitution must recognise the hard facts of India's social life which was based on the gradation of castes, it was dubious to argue that the problem of the depressed classes was merely a social problem and that its solution lay elsewhere than in political mechanism. Therefore, he said, "we hold that the problem of the Depressed classes will never be solved unless they get political power in their own hands"⁸. Therefore he said "The settlement of our problem must be a part of general political settlement and must not be left over to the shifting sands of the sympathy and good will of the rulers of the future". Why was Ambedker so consistent? It was for obvious reason. Once the power was passed without adequate safeguard and protection, the holders of political power would never care

7. The R.T.C. First Session : dated 12.11.1930-19.1.1931, proceedings pp.123-129.

8. Ibid.

for the condition of the depressed classes then, they would have another revolution to dethrone those who ascended the throne of power and prestige without any constitutional responsibility upon them, which, however would not be an easy task.

As a result of innumerable efforts of Ambedker, it was, however unanimously accepted that "the untouchables were entitled to recognition as a separate entity for political and constitutional purposes".⁹

Both Gandhi and Patel, were against the independent policies expressed and followed by Ambedker during the national movement. Gandhi argued that since the congress had taken up ~~the~~ uplift work of the Depressed classes and was determined to remove the curse of untouchability as an indispensable condition for the attainment of swaraj. There was no need to provide them with any constitutional safeguards. The position the congress took up in 1920 remains the same today.¹⁰ But Ambedker gave him a detailed account of how the congress and Gandhi himself had bequiled the untouchables by mere resolutions.

9. Ambedker B.R. What Congress and Gandhi op.cit.

10. Gandhi's Speech : Federal Structure Committee,
dated 15th Sep. 1931.

Gandhi made a plan to bypass the fate of untouchables and to close the communal issue by bringing about a settlement among the three parties : the Hindus the Muslims, and the Sikhs. He had been carrying on negotiations Privately with them before the Minorities committee met, but Gandhi failed in his mission. Knowing this as a detrimental move, Ambedker told the committee that whatever may be the representative character of the Gandhi or of the parties with whom he wishes to negotiate they, certainly are not in a position to bind us - certainly not - I want to make that absolutely plain."¹¹ Thus Ambedker frustrated Gandhi's secret plan to ignore the claims of the Depressed Classes. Gandhi was claimed to be a caste Hindu spokesman by the most formidable minority leaders like Ambedker and Jinnah¹² it was rather Ambedker who took up the Challenge to reply: "whether I am a nominee or not, I fully represent the claims of my community."¹³

Mean while, acting on the suggestion of the British premier, the minorities met to consider if they could come to any settlement, and in fact, the leading representatives of the Muslims, the Depressed classes, the chritions, Europeans and Anglo Indians, jointly

11. The federal structure committee & Minorities committee Proceedings p.527.

12. Kripiani, J.B. 'Gandhi- His life & Thought Govt. publication , 1970,p.137.

13. The Federal structure committee & Minorities, op cit p.534.

submitted a Memorandum at a meeting of the Minorities committee on 13th Nov. 1931. This document was known as the "Minorities pact" and was placed before the committee officially by the Aghakhan. He said that, "this agreement has been arrived at after careful and anxious consideration of this difficult and complicated problem and must be taken as a whole. All facts of the agreement are interdependent and agreements stand or fall as a whole."¹⁴

The Minorities fact, in general asked for repelling discriminating laws affecting any community, full religious liberty, of belief and worship, of association and education, no loss of civic rights by merely a change of faith, rights for establishing social and educational institutions safeguards for the protection of religion, culture and personal law; enjoyment of civic rights without any discrimination, representation of all minorities in the formation of the central and provincial cabinets by convention; and with regard to the Depressed classes, no change to joint electorates and reserved seats shall be made until after 20 years' experience of separate electorates and until direct adult suffrage for the community

14. From the speech at Minorities Committee ', dated 13th 1931.

has been established"¹⁵ The pact denounced "any disregard to the enjoyment of civic rights on account of untouchability" and asked for "the recruitment of the depressed classes to public services, including police and Military"¹⁶

The Minorities pact was in no way anti-national or even anti-independent document. It simply provided human rights to all with some special claims which could be modified in the national interest. Besides, Ambedker and Rao Bahadur Srinivasan put a supplementary Memorandum asking for special representation for the depressed classes in the federal and provincial legislatures in proportion to their population in India. It demanded separate electorates; but added that if the system of joint electorates was to exist with reserved seats, it should take place only after a referendum but that also not until after 20 yrs. and until universal adult suffrage has been established. It emphasized that the Depressed classes should not only have right to their own separate electorates, but they should also have the right to be represented by their own men.

15. The Minorities Pact-9.

16. The Minorities Pact-11 - "Special claim of the Depressed Classes, A-E".

Gandhi's reaction, however, was strong and vehement . He was particularly against the recognition given to the untouchable as a separate political entity". He said "I would resist it with my life."¹⁷ Thus Gandhi blocked the inclusion of the necessary safeguards for the Depressed classes. In R.T.C. Gandhi's argument was that the Hindus had seriously taken up the course of the untouchables and therefore, there was no reason to give them political safeguards. Outside , however , he gave a different version and before, he returned to India he said:

- (1) The Muslim and the sikhs were well organised, the untouchables were not. The separate electorates would make their lives miserable. It would throw the apple of discord between the touchables and untouchables Hindus,
- (ii) The question of separate electorates for the untouchable was a modern manufacture of the Government. The only thing needed was to put them on the voting list and provide for fundamental rights for them in the constitution ; In cases, the Depressed classes were unjustly treated and their representatives were deliberately excluded. They would have the right to special election tribunal which would give them complete

17. Gandhi's speech ; Minorities Committee, dated 13th Nov. 1931.

protection, and ;

- (iii) The separate electorate to the untouchable would ensure them bondage in perpetuity . It would keep them 'untouchables' for ever. What was needed was destruction of the untouchability and not their separation from the Hindus.

How could Gandhi save them from the onslaught of the caste Hindus in the absence of any constitutional safeguards, "In deed, Gandhi went to the Aga Khan with a copy of the Holy Kuran in his hand and asked the Muslim leaders to withdraw their support to the Depressed classes. The Aga Khan, however, refused to do so"¹⁸ The conformation between Gandhi and Ambedker infact became a dilemina to both of them.

Ambedker also submitted to the British cabinet a representation consisting of latest facts and arguments for the separate electorate of the untouchables . The demand of the depressed classes for special representation was thought to be anti-national and disruptive of national unity, by most of the Hindus¹⁹. Was it really anti-national ? If the Hindus of equal status could be represented by different political leaders and parties, why not the untouchables who formed a distinct element in Indian society ?

18. Jatav, D.R, Dr. Ambedker 's role in Indian National Movement Buddha Sahitya Sammelan, New Delhi, 1979.

19. Desai, A.R., Social Background of Indian Nationalism popular (Bombay), 1966, p. 276.

On 17th August 1932, British Premier announced his communal Award over the political imposse in India. The main provision of the Award was that "Member of the 'depressed classes ' qualified to vote will vote in a general constituency. In view of the fact that for a considerable period these classes would be unlikely, by this means alone, to secure any adequate representation in the legislature, a number of special seats will be assigned to them. These seats will be filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of depressed classes 'electorally qualified will be entitled to vote . Any person voting in such a special constituency will be entitled to vote in general constituency.²⁰

The British Government also intended that the constitution should provide these things for a period of 20 yrs.

The communal Award , in fact, was in keeping with the British Policy of 'divide and rule' The different sections of Indian Society- sikhs, Muslims, Chritians, Europeans, Depressed classes, it were to vote only for themselves and the community legislatures had to look to their voters alone, there could be no good relations between any two communities, and with the passage of time different communities were bound to be away from

20. The Communal Award: 17th August , 1932.

each other. Therefore Ambedker was not satisfied, with its all provisions. So he, wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare for clarifying certain points. He said that it was impossible for him to make the Depressed classes accept the Award with the proviso attached to it. But the division of Hinduism between two communalist groups higher caste, and depressed classes really pained Gandhi.²¹ Gandhi however, did not condemn the communal Award as a whole. The part of it, "establishing seperate electorates for those called Depressed classes, greatly shocked Mahatma Gandhi..."²² Gandhi gave threat of fasting unto death for a revision of terms contained in the Award, not in favour, but against the interest of the untouchables. Ambedker was not at all satisfied with the communal Award where as Gandhi wanted to undo what was done to the untouchables. As soon as Gandhi found that his threat had failed to have any effect, he declared fast unto Death. Ambedker described this proposed fast of Gandhi as a "political stunt"²³

In reply to letter of Mahatma Gandhi, the British premier, Ramsay Macdonald wrote : "As I understand your

21. Moore, R.J., The Crisis of Indian Unity, (1917-1940) Oxford (Bombay) 1974 p.223.

22. Gazetteer of India p. 577-

23. Tendulkar, D.G., Mahatma Gandhi : Life of M.K. Gandhi, Publication Division (New Delhi), Vol. II, 1961, p.210.

attitude, you propose to adopt the extreme course of starving yourself to death not in order to secure that the depressed classes should have joint electorate with other Hindus, because that is already provided, nor to maintain the unity of Hindus, which is also provided; but solely to prevent the Depressed classes, who

admittedly suffer from terrible disabilities today. from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak on their behalf in the legislatures which will have a dominating influence over their future.²⁴ Gandhi failed to get the Award altered. The British Government left the substitution & Award on the agreement of communities themselves. Therefore, Gandhi commenced his fast unto death' on 20th Sept. 1932 .

How far was it justifiable on the part of the Gandhi? Was it not the logic of Hindu Communalist in midst of crisis for Indian Unity? The politician in Gandhi then appealed to the Hindus in the name of nationalism and also in the name of patriolism to unite and consolidate caste Hindus against Ambedker and untouchables. Probably, the Muslims rightly understood Gandhi's inner most Hindu Communalism which caused their drift from him a reality.

24. The Prime Minister's letter to Gandhi, 8th September 1932, In what Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the untouchables'.

In a conference of Hindu leaders in Bombay a day earlier to the commencement of the fast. Ambedker was asked to revise his stand. Ambedker in turn, asked for Gandhi 's alternative proposals and declared, "But one thing is decided. To save Gandhi's life I would not be any party to any proposals. that would be against the interests of my people"²⁵ Besides this, Ambedker also issued a statement on Gandhi's attitude to the untouchables at the R.T.C. and their demands for constitutional safeguards, on 19th Sept 1932. The statement recorded : "The unenviable position, in which I have been placed by the Mahatma's vow of self -immolation, can easily be imagined.

"It would have been justifiable, if Mr. Gandhi had resorted to this extreme step for obtaining independence for the country on which he was so insistent all through the R.T.C. debates. It is also a painful surprize that Mr. Gandhi should single out special representation for the Depressed classes in the communal Award as an excuse for his self-immolation. Seperate electorates are granted not only to the Depressed classes, but to the Indian Chritians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, as well as to the Mohammedans and the Sikhs. Also seperate electorates are

25. Keer, D., Dr. Ambedker, Life and Mission p.208.

are granted to Landlords, Labourer, and traders "...

"If the nation is not going to be split up by the seperate electorates to the Mohammedans and Sikhs, the Hindu Society cannot be said to be split up if the depressed classes are given seperate electorates."²⁶

Explaining the legality of constitutional safeguards for untouchables, he said, "Here is a class which is undoubtedly not in a position to sustain itself in the struggle for existance. The religion to which they are tied, instead of providing for them an honourable place, brands them as lepers, not fit for ordinary intercourse. Economically, it is a class entirely dependent upon the high caste Hindus for earning its daily bread. with no independent way of living open to it. Nor are all ways closed by reason of the social prejudices of the Hindus but there is a definite attempt all throughout the Hindu Society to bolt every possible door so as not to allow the Depressed classes any opportunity to rise in the scale of life"²⁷ Ambedker further said ", This was not the first attempt on the part of the Mahatma to completely drive the Depressed classes out of political existance.

26. Ambedker B.R. Poona Pact P.111.

27. Ibid. p.112.

Long before, there was the Minority pact. The Mahatma tried to enter into an agreement with the Muslims and the congress. He offered to the Muslims all the fourteen claims which they had put forth on their behalf, and in return asked them to join with him in resisting the claims for social representation made by me on behalf of the depressed classes". He further said, " It must be said to the credit of the Muslim delegates that they refused to be a party to such a black act, saved the Depressed classes from what might as well have developed into a calamity for them as a result of the combined opposition of the Mohammadans and Mr. Gandhi "28

Inspite of social reforms by many Mahatmas in India, untouchables had remained untouchables. Ambedker therefore wanted a statutory guarantee for the protection of his people. Gandhi must put his proposals. Ambedker said", I however trust the Mahatma will not drive me to the necessity of making a choice between his life and the right of my people. For I can never consent to deliver my people bound hand and foot to the caste Hindus for generations to come". 29

28- Ambedker's Statement issued on Gandhi's fast into death on 19th Sept. 1932, in what Congress & Gandhi op.ci

29- Ibid.

It was a big question before Ambedker where to go, either to protect the rights of the untouchable or, to save the life of the Mahatma, Ambedker said, "As to myself, it is no exaggeration to say that no man was placed in a greater and graver dilemma than I was then . It was a baffling situation. I had to make a choice between two different alternatives. There was before me the duty, which I owed as a part of common humanity, to save Gandhi from sure death. There was before me the problem of saving for the untouchables the political rights which the prime Minister had given them. I responded to the call of humanity and saved the life of Mr. Gandhi by agreeing to alter the communal award in a manner satisfactory to Mr. Gandhi."³⁰

When Ambedker accepted Gandhi's terms, the Mahatma begged: "Do it and save my life "³¹ Ambedker was receiving threatening letters and calls, if the Mahatma died because of his recalcitrant and unyielding attitude. The Agreement was signed at 5 p.m. on Saturday, 24 Sept. 1932, on behalf of the Depressed classes by Ambedker and on behalf of the Hindus by Malaviya. Other leaders also put their

20. Ambedker B.R. What Congress op.cit. p. 88.

31. The Dialogue between Gandhi and Ambedker; dated 22nd 22nd Sept. 1932 : Quoted in :Keer D. op.cit. p.211.

signatures on it and it went down in history as the poona pact. The poona pact was accepted by the British Government thereby nullifying the communal Award, much to the Gandhi's satisfaction. The main points of pact were: the increase in the number of seats ; the voting on the basis of joint electorate ; the termination of reserved seats after ten years ; and adequate representation was to be given to the Depressed classes in public services.³² The communal Award had provided for 78 seats for the untouchables where as they got 148 (Later on 151) under the Poona Pact. The Communal Award had given to the untouchables reservation only in the legislature, no doubt under separate electorate system, but in poona pact, They got more facilities besides representation in legislature which are as under :

(I) Depressed classes got the right of adult franchise in accordance with the recommendations of the Lothian Committee Report.

(II) It was agreed that an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities to the Depressed classes.

32. Ambedker B.R. What Congress op.cit. p. 90.

(III) The Poona Pact Provided that "every endeavour shall be made to secure fair representation of the scheduled castes for appointment to the public services. (IV) Lastly, the poona pact provided that/ ^{there} shall be no disabilities attaching to anyone on the ground of being a member of the Depressed classes".

Though the system of seperate electorate was replaced with joint electorate under Poona Pact, it opened a new era in alround emancipation of the scheduled castes. It was a great basic achievement of Ambeker to free the survile classes of India from centuries old in-human bondage and slavery.

Poona pact gave Ambedker's leadership more of an all India stature. An Englishman said of him in 1932, "I think we must accept Dr. Ambedker as the most important leader and accredited spokesman of the depressed classes. None of the local leaders have either his education, forensic ability, or pugnacity, and his recent conduct during Mr. Gandhi 's fast, the extraordinary favourable agreement which he exacted from Hindu negotiators, reveal him as a political tactician of quality".³³ Infact,

33. John Coatman, in a speech before the East India's Hassoriation Published in Asiatic Review, Vol. XXIX, No. 97, London January 1933; pp- 46-47.

Ambedker was only a trusted and tested leader of the Depressed classes. He was "the savior of the Scheduled Castes"³⁴.

The Hindus very definitely disliked the Terms of the pact although they had not the courage to reject it. Disliked by the Hindus and disfavoured by the untouchables, the poona pact was given recognition by both parties and was embodied in the Government of India Act 1935.³⁵ But "my only regret is, why did not Mahatmaji take this attitude at the R.T.C. ? If he had shown the same consideration to my point of view, it would not have been necessary for him to go through this ordeal" observed Ambedker".³⁶ Here it may be recalled that he had in his report to the simmon commission demanded joint electorates with reserved seats. But it was Gandhi's determined opposition to the demands of the untouchables, which worsened the situation, and even compelled Ambedker to Switch over to seperate electorates.

Even the limited succuss achieved by this fast would have been difficult, if not impossible to achieve but for the relatively liberal character of the British

34. The untouchables Letter to the Supra Committee :Publishe by : Jai-Bheem Publishing House, Vepary, Madras, 14th April 1945.

35. Ambedker B.R. op.cit. pp.88-89.

36. The'Hindu' Madras, Sept. 26, 1932.

Government and Dr. Ambedker 's respect for human life and conventional morality³⁷. However, the fast was a successful experiment in satyagraha for the sake of Hindu community". It was an epitome of his method and crucial to his objective"³⁸ As a Hindu Communalist Gandhi stood for the unity of Hinduism lest it should further disintegrate to allow Muslim Politics to dominate the national movement.³⁹ Ultimately the pact benefited the congress party in all ensuing elections. Ambedker's failure in 1952 general elections was due to joint electorates⁴⁰. In a speech in Rajya Sabha on 22 Sept. 1953 he stated that he accepted the poonapact as inevitable, because it was not possible for him to get more. It was accepted because of the Coercive fast of Gandhi and because of the assurance given at that time that the Hindus will not interfere in the election of the scheduled caste.⁴¹

Ambedker denounced the poona pact. He proved that poona pact had completely disenfranchised the scheduled castes.⁴² He said about Gandhi, "The man who started by saying that he would fast unto

37. Bandyo Padhyaya, J., Social and Political Thought of Gandhi, Allied Bombay, 1969, p. 341.

38. Moore, R.J., op.cit. p.265.

39. Jatava D.R. op.cit.

40. Kuber W.N. Ambedker A Critical Study.

41. Ambedker B.R. What Congress & Gandhi op.cit.

42. Ambedker B.R. States and Minorities. & also see supra chap.3. p...

death unless the safeguards to the untouchables were completely withdrawn and untouchables reduced to the condition of utter helplessness without rights and without recognition was plaintively pleading "My life is in your hands, will you save me"? How can a such man be regarded as honest and sincere ? It was his vile wicked act."⁴³ Ambedker explained the benefits of the Communal Award :

(1) A fixed quota of seats to be elected by separate electorate of untouchables and to be filled by persons belonging to the untouchables;

(II) double vote, one to be used through separate electorate and other to be used in general electorates."⁴⁴

According to him "The second vote was a priceless privilege. Its value as a political weapon was beyond reckoning."⁴⁵ The Poona Pact was however, in no way a recompense for the loss of separate electorate and double vote . The pact slowly, eroded the base of Ambedker's Political strength. He said, "The Poona Pact gave a death blow to the self reliant movement of the depressed classes,"⁴⁶ finally he said, to end this long and sad

43. Ambedker B.R. "What Congress and Gandhi op. cit.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Kuber W.N. op cit.

story, the congress sucked the juice out of the poona pact and threw their rind in the face of the untouchables.⁴⁷ In an interview he stated ; "The Poona Pact must go it has resulted in disenfranchising 60 million untouchables. According to international law, no treaty was final and Sacrosant"⁴⁸ In the results of elections of 1945".... the real representatives of the Harijans were not returned to the legislature under the Panel system and joint electorate provided in Poona Pact".⁴⁹

Thus, Gandhi made untouchables unable to elect their real representatives, thereby gave a death blow to the political movement of Ambedker.

47. Ambedker B.R. opcit.

48. The Times of India, 22 July 1946.

49. Bharill, C., Social and Political Ideas of B.R. Ambedker, Aalekh (Jaipur), 1977 p.45.

PART II- Constitutional Safeguards in the Constitution of Free India.

Dr. B.R. Ambedker was opposed to the idea that "for the British Government there was only one principle opponent - The Congress "¹ In the last week of October.1939, he issued a statement in which he said that the minorities problem would never be solved unless Gandhi and Congress gave up their egoistic and insolent attitude towards the persons and parties outside the congress fold . He remarked that patriotism was not the monopoly of the Congress men, and therefore persons holding views divergent from the congress had a perfectly legitimate right to exist and be recognised by the Government and society.

In an interview with Lord Linlithgo which took place on Oct. 9,1939 , he put up the view point of his community and vis-a-vis the constitutional advancement of India, he also complained that the working of Poona Pact was unsatisfactory. He was assured by the Viceroy that the Government of India Act 1935 would be revised in consultation with all the leading parties of India.² But it resulted in no gain.

In 1941 Ambedker complained to the Governor of Bombay about the grievances of Mahars who were excluded from the

1. Nanda, B.R. 'Gokhale, Gandhi and Nehru' George Allen (London) 1974 p.135.

2. Keer op.cit. pp. 324-325.

military services on the basis of a senseless distinction between martial and non-martial classes. The Government then decided to raise a Mahar Battalion which still continues in 1941, the viceroy expanded his executive council without inclusion of representatives of Depressed classes. Therefore, Ambedker addressed two meetings of Mahars, where in, he encouraged them for a fight unto the last for securing their political rights.³ Ambedker as a representative of Depressed classes was however taken in the Defence Advisory Committee appointed by the Government.

After having an interview with Sir Stafford Cripps on March 30, 1942, Ambedker rejected the scheme of Cripps' proposals as it was calculated to do the greatest harm to the untouchables as it bound them hand and foot to the Hindu rule and would lead them to the black days of their ancient past. It provided no political protection to them. Therefore, Ambedker conveyed to the Cripps that the Depressed classes would look it as a breach of faith, if the British Government decided to force upon them a constitution to which they did not give their consent.⁴ He described the Cripps' proposals as a great betrayal of the Depressed classes. According to him, a spirit of independence, political

3. Ibid. pp 336-337.

4. Ibid. p. 340.

and economic power were necessary for depressed classes to attain social equality and self progress. He advised the British Government to withdraw the Cripps' proposals if they could not fight for right and justice.⁵

On July 2, 1942, Ambedker was taken in the Viceroy's Executive Council. Ambedker stressed that the untouchables were a distinct element in the national life of India and therefore, they must have separate political rights as against the Hindus. He described Gandhi as the greatest opponent of the untouchables' social freedom.⁶ He asked the Depressed classes to strive for democratic institutions and values. He said, "My final words of advice to you is educate, agitate and organise ; have faith in yourself with justice on your side, I do not see how we can lose our battle."⁷ In an-press interview, he said that any recommendation at present moment that India should be given independence would have 'most unfortunate results' . The Depressed classes, he asserted, would consider any such hasty change "granting every thing to the congress as worse than no change."⁸

On 29 October 1942, Ambedker submitted a memorandum to the Governor General, in which he put forth political

5. Ambedker, 's Statement on Cripps' Proposals - April, 1942.

6. From Ambedker's speech (Bombay) , dated 19th April 1942.

7. Ibid.

8. Venkataramani and B.K. Shrivastava Quit India Vikas (New Delhi) 1979 pp.151-152.

educational and other grievances, "He complained about the inadequate representation of the Depressed classes in the central legislature and in the central executive and absence of representation in Public Services and in the Federal Services Commission. In the services, fixed proportion of the annual vacancies was not maintained in respect of the depressed classes. The reason, according to him was that the appointing authorities were caste Hindus. In a cabinet of 15, there was only one member of scheduled castes. In order to overcome these problem, Ambedker suggested some remedies : scheduled caste must be declared a minorities; their proportion in the annual vacancies must be fixed; the age bar must be raised ; examination fee must be reduced and scheduled caste officers must be appointed to see whether the provisions had been carried through.⁹

In December 1942, he observed that although villeinage slavery and serfdom had all vanished, untouchability still existed and bade fair to the last as long as Hinduism itself would continue in India. He argued that the untouchables needed separate electorate and reserved seats in the absence of which, under the Hindu politics, based on casteism and dominated by Brahmanism, no depressed class candidate could win a seat from anywhere in India.¹⁰ He said "

9. Bombay University Ambedker Collections, Confidential Pamphlet, p. 56.

10. Ambedker B.R. 'Mr. Gandhi and Emancipation of Untouchables

The only safety against such people is to have the Political rights which the untouchables claim as safeguards against the tyranny of the Hindu Majority defined in the constitution".¹¹

In Oct 1913, Ambedker and Prrarelal Tabib got removed by the Government of India the restriction on the Untouchables in the Military forces against holding posts of officers. He also secured representation of the depressed classes in provincial Assemblies, central Assemblies and council of States; and obtained 8 1/2% oppointments in Government posts, reserved seats for Technical education for scheduled castes students in London. Ambedker favoured government jobs for the Depressed, classes, for that would increase the possibility of their getting justice in Government dealings in addition to raising their economic-social status¹². On January 29, 1944 in annual session of S.C.F., he declared that the Government of India must be shared by the Hindus, the Muslims and the Untouchables. He threatened that if the Depressed classes were ignored they would launch a nation wide struggle to achieve that objective. He also advised the

11. Ibid. pp. 57-58.

12. Keer D. op.cit.

scheduled castes to take full advantage of the facilities given to them by the Government.¹³ On August 30, 1944, he said, "depressed classes wanted the independence of their community along with the independence of the country".¹⁴

Infact, Ambedker was not opposed to a National Government, Swaraj or Independence to India. But he thought, even if a National Government was established with adult suffrage, it would not end the miseries of all classes. He, therefore, suggested that the transfer of power should not be made in the hands of a Tyrannizing class alone which believed in its own welfare and in the sevility of others.¹⁵ Ambedker explained on Sep 24, 1944, that inspite of the fact the Depressed classes suffered at the hands of Brahmanical rule for the past two thousands years, they were patriotic to the core to ask only for Just demands. He therefore, asked the Hindus to come to terms and settle the issue with due regard to the wishes of the Depressed classes.

In order to solve the political dead lock in the country, Ambedker too, had his own plan which he unfolded on May 6, 1945, while adressing the annual session of the

13. Proceedings of the session S.C.F., January, 1944.

14. From Ambedker's Speech in Bombay on August 30, 1944.

15. From Ambedker's speech delivered at the Madras Municipal Corporation, dated 22 Sep. 1944.

S.C.F. at parel Bombay. He said that majority rule was untenable in theory and unjustifiable in Practice. He proposed weightage to be given to the minorities in their representation in the legislatures and asked the Hindus to be satisfied with relative Majority. The main feature of the plan was that the depressed classes were to hold the balance of Power and it regarded the constituent Assembly as absolutely superfluous as it might push the country into a civil war ¹⁶. The plan was however rejected, especially by caste Hindus who described it as a one way of raising the Depressed classes to the status almost of a new herrenvolk.

On Oct 4, 1945, said at a meeting in poona, that the coming elections were a matter of life and death to the Depressed classes for the constitutional body was likely to be elected by the Provincial legislatures. But in this election, the S.C.F. got utterly defeated due to joint electorate Jagjivan Ram with Congress Harijans was opposed to Ambedker's claim to represent the untouchable . It made Ambedker's position shaky in those critical days of national movement and he was almost throttled, but authorised by the S.C.F, he placed a memorandum before cabinet Mission and pleaded the scheduled castes' case with all force and insight. He emphasized the

16. Keer D. op.cit . pp. 367-368.

need of a provision in the constitution for the election of depressed class candidate through separate electorate and demanded adequate representation in the Central and provisional legislatures, in the Central and Provincial Executive, in the public services and the public service commissions, Federal as well as provincial. Ambedker also urged for earmarked sums for the education of the scheduled castes and stressed the need for a new settlement for them.¹⁷

On May 16, 1946, the cabinet Mission for the final solution of the Indian deadlock, announced their scheme in the form of a 'state paper' which had no reference to the Demands of the Scheduled castes as put forth by Ambedker. According to Ambedker, the Mission's formula was a mere copy of Gandhi's formula: not to recognise untouchables as a distinct force¹⁸. It was the death blow to the movement of the scheduled castes led by Ambedker. For it, he gave a clarion call to his people to fight out the cause of Justice and human rights, and to expose the machinations against the demands of the scheduled castes by the Congress and the British Government. He believed it to be the last

17. The Memorandum placed before the Cabinet Mission (New Delhi): dated 5th April, 1946.

18. Kuber W.N. : 'Dr. Ambedker A critical study'.

opportunity for his people to assert their rights and to fulfil their wishes as he feared that a free India might revert to the tyrannical traditions and the scheduled castes would be impoverished and neglected by the Government. Besides, they might also be ostracized from society; and kept away from the public services. There upon, the scheduled castes started a nation wide agitation for their rights and representation in free India. The Congress Harijan leaders were not the real representatives of the Scheduled castes. The actual fighting started on July 15, 1946, at Poona. Synchronizing with the opening of Poona session of the Bombay Assembly. A non-violent agitation began in the country. In an interview on July 17, he said that scheduled castes had launched the campaign against the cabinet mission's proposals. The Depressed classes then started satyagrah and giving Court arrests almost in the important cities of country. On July 21, he issued an statement in which he said that 60 million untouchables wanted adequate safeguards in the future constitution of India. He realized the futility of the Poona Pact which prevented the real representatives of the scheduled castes from being elected to the legislatures and as such wanted it to go. Since it was a virtual disfranchisement of the untouchables, Ambedkar warned that if the moral and non-violent resources were exhausted, the scheduled castes

would look for other means to register their protest against the political proposals of the cabinet Mission. He asked his people to carry on the struggle to the bitter end.

For voicing his political demands it was necessary for Ambedker to enter the constituent Assembly. It was a big problem for him. Congress leaders gave secret orders to its members to act in such a way so that Ambedker could not be elected.¹⁹ But the scheduled caste representatives in Bengal Assembly, however, got him elected to the constituent Assembly with the help of Muslim league.²⁰ Sardar Patel announced that he had applied the heavy locks to every door of C.A. so that Ambedker could not enter it.²¹ The Congress Harijan Leaders who always reaped the fruit of his labour started opposing Ambedker and untouchables' demands. By this time, Jagjivan Ram grew a vehement critic of Ambedker's independent advocacy of the untouchables' demands.²² In reaction to cabinet mission's argument, he claimed that his party had all India support. Ambedker remarked that scheduled castes fell a victims to the machinations of the government²³. Satyagrah's Pressure forced the government to abrogate its poona Assembly session. The congress leaders felt the need for a rapprochement with the leaders of scheduled castes.²⁴ On August 8, 1946, a procession led by the

19. Sampla, B.R. op.cit.

20. Bali, L.R. Dr. Ambedker : Jivan Aaur Mission.

21. Sampla, B.R. op.cit.

22. Jatav D.R. Dr. Ambedker's role in National Movement.

23. Kuber, W.N. Dr. Ambedker-Acritical Study.

24. Jatav D.R. op.cit.

Scheduled caste leaders like Gackwad and Rajbhoj marched towards the wardha where the AICC was holding its annual session, However the agitation of Scheduled castes under S.C.F. spread from one corner to another in the country, and in September 1946, thousands of men and women were arrested and put into jails. Ambedker realized that in spite of all these, interim government of Nehru was not giving heel to the demands of scheduled castes so far.²⁵

In Oct, 1946 Ambedker rushed to Landon for a final attempt to secure political rights for his people but returned hopless. He faced a political paralysis' as his life long efforts for the emancipation of untouchables suffered a severe set back. He was terribly pulled down also in health.

In March 1947 he submitted a memorandum to C.A. containing his constitutional views regarding the future Political system in India and the place of Scheduled castes in it.²⁶ Day and night he remained busy in mobilising public opinion in favour of the political rights of scheduled castes.

A bill for a removal of Untouchability was moved by Sardar Patel in the House, which declared on April 29, 1949,

25. Ibid.

26. Kuber W.N. op.cit.

that untouchability in any form is abolished and the imposition of any disability on that account shall be offence. This day was a glorious day in the social history of India.

Ambedker with other many leaders lost his seat in C.A. due to Partition of Bengal along with the partition of India. But he was again elected by the Bombay legislature with the help of the congress to fill up the vacancy created by the resignation of Mr. M.R. Jayakar²⁷ and thus, the destiny of the scheduled castes in particular and of the Indians in General, favoured his presence and participation in the ensuing proceedings of New India's constituent Assembly. On August 3, 1947, Ambedker was appointed as the first law Minister in the Central cabinet by Nehru. He agreed to co-operate, not for any personal gain but for the benefit of the country at a large. There is also story known to knowledgeable circle about J.Nehru and Sarojini Naidu meeting Gandhi for inviting Sir Iver Jennings, to draft Indian constitution. In it, Gandhi suggested the name of Dr.B.R. Ambedker, the Indian Constitutionalist known to him.

27. Austin, G., The Indian Constitution, Oxford (Bombay) 1976, p.13.

On 29th August, 1947 the Constitutional Assembly appointed a Drafting Committee of the New Constitution under the Chairmanship of B.R. Ambedker. Now he was to define the will aim and vision of India"²⁸ He was to define the future constitution of the country, not so much of its structural and functional aspects as much as philosophy and ideal for the whole of India.

B.R. Ambedker played two fold role in the making of constitution of India. i.e. as a champion of untouchables on the one hand and as a constitutional expert on the other. He was a well known constitutionalist and a man with rich political experience. Though, Ambedker was not free to write the constitution according to his political and constitutional philosophy, yet he trove his utmost to incorporate into the free constitution of India such provisions as would help establish a new social order based on the lofty principles of political, economical and social justice for one and all.²⁹ He tried to bring out all the necessary changes in the Hindu society to make it fit for democracy.³⁰

28. Keer D. op.cit.

29. Lokrajya- Dr. Babasahab Ambedker Special Member, April, 16, 1981.

30. Ibid.

He had to play to large extent the role of Technocrat applying his legal skill in the drafting of the constitution. His main handing was that the Drafting committee had to take guidance from a number of committees of the constituent Assembly and contend with the views of the others expressed elsewhere. The ideology of the congress party had to be kept in view. Nehru and petel had the last word on so many points including matters such as fundamental objectives and safeguards for minorities. So the constitution of India does not reflect his true constitutional philosophy as he could not incorporate into its constitutional elements of his preference such as the due process of law clause, or a presidential from of Government, or a completely safe polity for minorities. Even, inspite of this with his extraordinary legal acumen, he brought to bear upon the constitution his skill and originality. The burden of total drafting the constitution fell on Ambedker and he played very significant role in it.³¹

When Ambedker brought a proposal in C.A. for the safeguards of untouchables, i.e. reservation in services,

31. Constituent Assembly debate, Vote VIII, p.231

Loksabha and legislative Assemblies, he was strongly opposed by J.L. Nehru, S.B. Patel, S.P. Mukharjee, K.L. Munshi etc. on the ground that a provision for abolishing untouchability has already been incorporated in the constitution.³² Ambedker said that simply by passing resolution the economic, social and political progress of crores of untouchables could not be achieved. He was of the view that the untouchables could not progress unless the seats in services, legislatures were reserved for them in proportion of their population.³³ He stressed on reservation and sounded / that he had come in C.A. as a elected member even after the sever opposition made by congress. He said that he had laboured for three years in preparing the constitution on the cost of his health so that he could do something for the walfare of the down-trodden people. When he saw that no one was in his favour, then he finally said that if seats were not kept reserved for Depressed classes and made it as a part of the constitution, he would walkout from the constituent Assembly so that in the pages of the coming

32. Sanpla, B.R. op.cit.

33. Ibid.

history it would remain written that how the Hindus opposed the question of welfare for untouchables, whenever it came before them.³⁴ After this Ambedker went out from the meeting and did not attend for 3-4 days. Then, however, congress leaders agreed on the inclusion of certain provision for the welfare of these class which Ambedker inserted them in the constitution.³⁵

The safeguards provided by the constitution are :

- (I) Representation in legislatures; (Art 330)
- (II) Representation in services , (Art 336)
- (III) Grants for Educational Benefits (Art 337)
- (IV) Operation of Fundamental Rights.

The credit for these achievements goes to Ambedker, He was also member of the Advisory Committee on Fundamental rights and Minorities, along with patel, Rajendra Prasad, Nehru and K.M. Munshi, He was instrumental in providing reservation, for backward communities- Scheduled caste and scheduled tribes, in services, central as well state legislatures.³⁶ The relevant provisions in the constitution are included under the Articles: 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 25, 29, 35, 38, 41, 46, 164, 124, 244 A, 275, 320, 330, 332, 333 , 334, 335, 338, 339, 340,

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Lokhande, G. S.: Bhimrow Ramji Ambedker-

341, 342, 871, 371 A , 371 B, 371 C,

It was Ambedker 's ardent desire to establish in India economic and Social democracy so as to make political democracy meaningful. The directive principles of state policy of the constitution of India are indicative of way he wished the country to travel.³⁷ The fundamental rights and the directive principles of state Policy enshrined in the constitution are one of the greatest contributions of Ambedker.³⁸ The fundamental rights provided for equality , abolition of untouchability , freedom and remedies for enforcement of the rights. The directive principles envisaged the broad guiding principles for securing fair distribution of wealth and better living conditions. Thus, the aim of these was what he advocated of State socialism for rapid industrialization and collective farming with agriculture as a state industry , as the only means for the emancipation of the 60 million untouchables , who, were just landless labourers". The character of Fundamental rights and the Directive Principles of state policy as enunciated in the constitution of India, Promulgated in the year 1950 are virtually reformulated versions of the seminal ideas contained in the memoranda submitted by Ambedker to various committees on various occasions

37. Ibid.

38. Employment News, Republic Day Number, 26 Jan. 1991.

The Chains of thoughts which guided Ambedker's actions right from 1928 onwards and which were calculated to ensure equality of citizenship for all the people of India culminated in the inclusion of articles 12 through 18 in the constitution.

The infringement of human rights must carry sufficient penalty, and therefor the infringement of citizenship rights, must be called offence. He writes , whoever denies to any person except for reasons by law applicable to persons of our classes and regardless of any previous condition of untouchability and full enjoyment of any of the accomodations, advantages, facilities, previleges of inns, educational institutions, roads, paths, streets, tanks, wells and other watering places, public conveyances on land, air or water, theatre or the places of Public amusements, resorts or convenience, whether they are dedicated to or maintained or licenced for the use of the public, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for term . Which may extend to five years and shall also be liable to fine".³⁹

Articles 14 and 15 while prescribing the equality of law and equal protection of law and also prohibition of discrimination on certain grounds statutorily ensures

39. Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol.VII, pp.61-62.

human rights to all citizens . Art, 15 mentions that the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Further, on the basis of any of these, a citizen, can not be denied access to shops, public restaurants or the use of wells , tanks, bathing ghats, roads, and places of public resorts maintained wholly or partly out of the state funds or dedicated to the use of the general public, According to Ambedker , the term 'shop' is used here in its generic sense. Art 16 provides for equality of opportunity in matters of public employment to all citizens irrespective of religion, race, sex, caste etc. According to this Art clause 4, it does not prevent the state from making any provision for the reservation appointments or path in favour of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the state is not adequately represented in the services under the state,

Article 17, abolishes the untouchably . The Articles 46, provides for promotion of educational and economic interests of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other weaker sections.

Art 330 provides for reservation of state for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the House of

people . The Article 332 provides for the reservation of seats for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the legislative ,Assemblies of the states.

At present, 79 seats for SCs 40 for STs, out of 544 total seats are reserved in the house of the people. And in legislative Assemblies of the states, the 557 for SCs and 315 for STs , out of 3997 total seats are reserved for them.

The Art 335 Provides that the claims of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to services and posts shall be taken with consideration, consistently with the maintainance of efficiencies of administration in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the union or state, this means that the candidates from SCs and STs should satisfy at least the minimum educational and other qualifications prescribed for various posts of different services under the state. In addition to this, a special provision of grants for educational advancement was also included.

It must be noted that there is no fixation of percentage of jobs in the constitution for this community. There is also no fixed period for consideration of this preferential treatment. This preferential

treatment is expected to continue until this community makes substantial progress educationally economically, socially and attains equality with the rest of the Indian Society. ⁴⁰

Ambedker sought to provide protection to minorities by way of appointing an officer to be called "The superintendent of Minority Affairs; He said, "His status shall be similar to the Auditor General of India and removable in like manner and on like grounds as a judge of the Supreme Court. It shall be the duty of Superintendent to prepare an annual report on the treatment of minorities by the Public as well as by the Governments, union and state and of any Transgressions of safeguards or any miscarriage of justice due to communal bias by Government or their officers." ⁴¹

Ambedker also sought to appoint a settlement commission. But his views as such were not taken into consideration. And a provision was made for an appointment of SC/ST commissioner. ⁴² The Article 338 of constitution of India makes a provision for a special officer, the commissioner

40. Lokhande, Cr.S. op.cit.

41. Ambedker B.R., 'States and Minorities'

42. Sanpla B.R. op.cit.

for the scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes, who is to be appointed by the president of India. for a term of six years, and who is empowered to investigate all matters relating to safeguards provided for them. The commissioner has to report to the president of India on these matters at regular intervals.

As a result of these thoughtful statutory provisions, it has been possible for the members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to register some advancement in the sphere of public services which is inadequate in comparison with what they should get. Both in the central and the state secretariats members hailing from the backward communities have made their mark as able and conscientious Administrators. In almost all the states of India, it is now possible to find at least half a dozen men of backward communities occupying the coveted chairs of District Collectors. There are now a number of men belonging to the backward communities adorning the posts of First class Magistrates and High Court Judges. In the Central and States Governments, the backward Communities are represented, though still inadequately which can be known from following recent

data of annual (1990) report of commission for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.⁴³

Class	A I class	B II Class	C III Class	D IV Class
Scheduled caste / Scheduled Tribe %	4.95%	8.58%	13.44%	15.66%

Ambedker used to comment on the annual report of SC/ST Commissioner as on doctors and tutored document Anti-reservationist Mr. Sabhas was made SC/ST Commissioner by Indira Gandhi. An Article 340 was also envisaged in the constitution in order to empower the president of India to appoint a commission in to investigate the conditions of backward classes and make recommendations to take steps as deemed necessary.

Whatever provided to untouchables in the constitution of India was due to influence of B.R. Ambedker. Thus we cannot but agree with Ashok Mehta when he said that Dr. Ambedker had the strategy to turn the concept of Liberty and justice towards securing the safeguards to the minorities. It was due to Ambedker that the Principle

43. Navabharat Times, New Delhi, 7 January 1990.

of one man, one value and one man, one vote was incorporated in the constitution. Thus, the constitution of India accepted an individual, and not a village, as a unit. It was due to the vision and foresight of Ambedkar that the provision of preventive Retention Act was included in the fundamental rights.⁴⁴

Initially reservation was for 10 years only. It has been extended many times through amendments due to persistent backwardness of these communities. Ambedkar said on 27 Oct. 1957, "The reservation of seats is for 10 years only. I wanted that this reservation should remain for such a time as untouchability is there, but the congress leader late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel opposed me. So the other persons who were there in the committee supported sardar because they belonged to his party. Therefore, we should try to send our true representatives to the Assemblies so that they may safeguard our rights and also secure this reservation after 10 years."⁴⁵

Ambedkar had strongly defended the First Amendment, 1951, which amended articles 15, 19, 31, 85, 174, 176, 341

44. Lokhande G. S. op.cit.

45. Private Papers of Ambedkar, Bombay University Library.

342, 372, and 376 , the main purpose of Amendment was to remove certain practical difficulties experienced in the working of some fundamental rights. He was against any special protection for SCs & STs under Article 15, as he feared that instead of removing disabilities of the People, it might perpetuate their social aloofness.

Appreciating his invaluable contribution, is the chairman of the drafting committee of the constitution of India, Dr. M.V. Pylee, an expert on constitutional law writes, "Ambedker's Contribution to the Consti--tution is undoubtedly of the highest order. Indeed, he deserves to be called the father or the chief architect of the constitution of India".⁴⁶ In recognition of his work in drafting the constitution of India, on June 5, 1952, Columbia University Conferred the degree of L.L.D. on Ambedker. The University hailed Ambedker as a one of India's leading citizens, a great social reformer and a valiant upholder of human rights".⁴⁷

The reservation in legislatures has produced a large number of stooges who act as faithful dogs to their party leaders .The 879 Harijan members of legislatures (114 M.Ps and 765 M.L.A.) have never raised their voice against the atrocities done on scheduled

46. Constitution Assembly Debates, Vol.VII pp.32-34.

47. Robbin, J. Dr. Ambedker and His Movement, Ambedker Society (Hyderabad) 1965.

and Scheduled tribes.⁴⁸ Therefore Ambedker demanded for proportional Representation or cumulative voting system in place of present voting system with reservation.⁴⁹

Nothing such a thing like this constitution existed in past.⁵⁰ It has the social equality as its declared ideal.⁵¹ It is a dynamic even a revolutionary document for a change in old prevailing social order.⁵² Had Ambedker not been elected to the C.A. we would have not got the same constitution as it is now.

48. A Patrika 'Mother India' Oct. 1973.

49. Sanpla B.R. op.cit.

50. Chopra, M.K. India The search for Power, Lal Vani (Bombay) 1969 p.124.

51. Sinha, V.K. Secularism in India, Lalvani (Bombay) 1968 p.32.

52. Ayyar, V.R.K. Law Versus Justice, Deep (New Delhi), 1981.

PART- II - 'THE POSITION AND ROLE OF AMBEDKER'S POLITICAL PARTIES:'

According to Ambedker, untouchables could not remove their grievances unless they get political power in their own hands. He said "No body can remove your grievances as well as you can and you cannot remove them unless you get political power in your hands"¹ According to him, Political power was key to all social Progress. He stressed that scheduled castes had no economic and social power ; therefore, political power must be captured.² The independent labour party was founded by Ambedker in August 1936, with a aim to contest elections which were to be held in 1937, under government of India Act 1935.

The party had outlined a comprehensive programe which concentrated with the immediate needs and grievances of the landless, poor tenents, agriculturists and workers. The I.L.P. included in its comprehensive plan, the rehabilitation of old industries and starting new ones; The consolidation of small holdings, and extensive technical education, state management and state ownership of industries

1. Dutt, R.P., 'India Today', People's Publishing House, Bombay, 1947 pp. 243-244.

2. Kuber, W.N. op.cit. p.222.

wherever necessary; the protection of agricultural tenants from exactions and evictions by the land lords; the legislation in the interests of industrial workers, the need for penalising all forms of orthodoxy and reactionarism, the use of surplus from charity funds for such secular purposes as education, the planning for sanitation and housing to modernise the outlook of villages and furnishing villages with halls, libraries and rotary cinemas. ³

Thus, I.L.P. stressed the need of the welfare of the poor workers and peasants. According to Ambedker, it would endeavour to educate the masses in the methods of democracy, place before them a correct ideology and organise them for political action through legislation. He all throughout was working for entire Depressed classes of India, yet I.L.P. was unable to fight the elections on all India basis. The party was mostly confined to the Bombay province. The party set up 17 candidates in election held on Feb. 17, 1937, and Ambedker got elected to the Bombay Assembly along with 14 party colleagues. It was a great political success for Depressed classes. He assured his people that he was determined to work the constitution in the best intrests of the Depressed classes. He condemned

3. Keer D.op.cit p. 284-285.

the attitude adopted by the congress leaders like Nehru who put up menials as candidates to contest the reserved seats with choosen men from the Depressed classes like one Nehru's servant, Hari.⁴

The I.L.P. worked as an opposition to congress in Bombay presidency. Ambedker sounded a note of warning to the congress party, "we cannot allow our grievances to continue till the so called congress fight against imperialism is over"⁵ He waged a bitter struggle inside and outside the legislature to abolish serfdom. His agitation for agrarian reforms mobilised a vast sections of peasants, workers and the landless and his apeal was to the 'have-nots' to unite irrespective of caste and creed. He saw no hope for poor workers and peasants in the congress party. For it was a combination of the exploiters and reactionaries. He said that congress had no courage to proclaim of social and economic equality. The congress sided with the monopolists and the capitalists by ignoring the intrests of the proletariat⁶, Ambedker was equally critical of communists who exploited the labours for their political ends⁷.

4. Ibid. pp-291-292.

5. Ibid.

6. Jatav D.R. op.cit.

7. Op.cit.

On Sept 17, 1937, he introduced a bill in Bombay Assembly to abolish Khoti System. Which was not passed, Lateron, he also introduced another bill to abolish the Maharwatan. on Sept. 19, 1938, The Industrial dispute Bill was taken up by the Bombay legislative Assembly. The Bill restricted the right of labourers to strike and in due course, it could make strike illegal and impossible. So Ambedker opposed the Bill tooth and nail. He was successful in it ⁸ Ambedker protested the minimum salary proposed for ministers, which he felt was impractical idealism. I.L.P. also protested the use of word Harijan, the wardth^ascheme of Education, and increased powers of city police in matters other than riots. The education of scheduled caste students, the problems of scheduled caste Teachers etc. were also raised. ⁹ Ambedker also demanded the enforcement of the minimum standard of wages for agricultural labourers, end of landlordism, and reduction of 50% of irrigation rates payable by small holders.

He said that Indian society was consisted mainly of two classes : The Haves and the Have-nots, the rich and the poor, the exploiter and the exploited ; the middle class being very small. He enthused them to organise a labour point

8. Keer D. op.cit.

9. Kothari Caste in Politics.

without any distinction of caste and creed. He asked the workers to uproot Brahminism from among themselves if the ranks of labour wished to be united in order to destroy the capitalism, another aspect of the Brahminism.¹⁰

Thus during the national struggle, Ambedker developed into a trusted leader of the peasants, workers and the landless labourers.¹¹ The I.L.P. criticised the policies of the congress regarding tenancy' anti-strike bill, khoti bill and other measures. The I.L.P. served as an eye opener and a guide to the people.

Ambedker declared the transformation of I.L.P. into All India scheduled caste federation (AISCf) on July 19, 1942, at the Nagpur Conference. He visualised the possibility of organizing a party which would be a third balancing party. According to him, the scheduled castes could achieve political power by organizing themselves in a third party and holding the power between the rival political parties. The congress and the socialists.¹² He was of the view that a democratic government could remain democratic only if it worked with two parties- a party in power and a party in opposition¹³

10. Jataav D.R. op.cit.

11. Ibid.

12. The Times of India, 25 April 1948.

13. Ambedker B.R. Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah p.77.

He remarked that one-party system was existing in this country in the name of national solidarity.¹⁴

The S.C.F. had in its Manifests, following some important principles :Indians were entitled to equality; it would sustain the right of every Indian to freedom-religious, economic, and political;it is state responsibility to make every Indian free from want and fear ; maintenance of liberty, equality and fraternity, redemption from oppression and exploitation of man by man, of class by class, and of nation by nation ; and for parliamentary system of government. As regards economic programme, the S.C.F. stood for nationalisation of insurance- insurance to be made compulsory for state employees . It stood for abolition of prohibition.

As regards the cooperation with other parties, the S.C.F. had outlined some principles:(1) It will not support independent candidates, (2) It will have no alliance with any reactionary party such as Hindu Mahasabha, R.S.S. etc. (3)It will have working alliance with backward class organisations; (4) it will have no alliance with the communist party of India ;(5) It will have no belief in totalitarian parties ; (6) it will oppose the growth of multiplicity of political parties, the ideal being two parties ;(7) The federation will

14. Ibid p.74

be prepared to unite with Krishak Mazdoor Praja Party and socialists.¹⁵

In the elections of 1945 the scheduled caste Federation was completely routed and sweeping victory was achieved by the congress for the general as well as the reserved seats. It was all due to the joint electorate.^{15a} Caste Hindus who hated Ambedker and his SCF, elected only those depressed classes candidates who were their Genchmen.¹⁶ In the elections of 1952, Ambedker was defeated . He was also defeated in by election held in 1954^{16a} . Ambedker had asked his people to forget the past differences with Congress or other parties. Now that era of co-operation ended in the fall of 1951. just before India is first general elections.

In Oct.1955, S.C.F. demanded for abolition of reservation of seats for scheduled castes in central and state legislatures and distinct and local boards throughout the country even before the general elections" on 15 Oct 1956, Ambedker put forth his idea that the reserved seats were of no value and the unity of nation was essential.¹⁷ In Nov.1956,

15. Manifests of S.C.F.

15a. See Supra Ch.... p. ..

16. Jatav D.R. op.cit. p.182.

16a. Supra Ch. ... p....

17. Kuber, W.N.op.cit. p.226.

an electoral alliance of S.C.F. with Samukta Maharashtra Samiti, was signed. It contained four provisions : (1) to set up S.C.F. candidate for general seats; (2) all reserved seats given to the S.C.F. (3) United attempts to remove injustice done to untouchables in villages ; (4) United attempts to solve other problems of untouchables .

On 13 Oct 1956, Ambedkar outlined the principles of the new Party which would speak for all the dispossessed'. The scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and Backward classes. He drafted constitution ^{of} the new party. He enunciated new principles of cooperation with all, but his untimely death could not see the birth of the new Republican party of India (R.P.I.) as usualised by him. The guiding principles were : (1) equality to all, (2) every indian has a right to develop himself, the state is only as a means to that end; (3) right to religious, economic and political freedom (4) right to equality of opportunity (5) to make every Indian free from want and free from fear, (6) redemption from oppression and exploitation of man by man, of class by class and of nation by nation. Party was not tied "to any particular dogma or ideology, such as communism or socialism, Gandhism or any otherism"¹⁸ . The party stood for national integration by solving the problem of Linguism, casteism and communalism. It envisaged a new way for a new orientation of democracy, liberalism, rationalism, humanism, socialism, empiricism, love and friendship.

18. Election Manifests of the R.P.I.

The R.P.I. was formed on the lines laid down by Ambedker. He realised that India at present lacked both opposition and alternative government. He visualised "the danger of one party government in India . He wanted to make RPI an opposition party. He said, " unless we retrieve the situation by the formation of an opposition party there will be no democracy in the real sense of the word".¹⁹ Ambedker's Journey from I.L.P. to the R.P.I. was very important in the history of Depressed classes of India. The main loyalty of I.L.P. was social and its major following was in Maharashtra. The AISC was a national party of untouchables, yet it suffered from political aloofness and communal feelings.

19. The Times of India, Bombay, 21, January 1956.

'CONCLUSION'

In sum, it can be stated that Dr. Ambedker was one of the main architects of modern India. He laid the foundations on a broad basis legal, political, economic and social. But his edifice remained incomplete because of the resistance given by dominant castes in society.

In order to find out whether the weaker sections, particularly untouchables were really a surville race created by nature or code for doing menial work and for suffering all disabilities, miseries and inhuman treatment meted out to them by the Hindu Social System as a part of Hindu religion, he traced the roots of Hindu Social System as well as of Hindu religion. For it, he questioned the authenticity of the Hindu religious scriptures. He found that the Shudra and untouchable were the outcome of social and political struggles for supermacy between Kschatriyas and Brahmins, and between Buddhism and Brahminism respectively In it, Brahmanism Triumphed. He refuted the theory of Aryan invasion of India and subjugation of native inhabitants by Aryans. He proved that there were two Aryan races in India. Untouchables were from the other solar Aryan race. and they were degraded from the Kschatria Status by Brahmins. He also proved that Hindu religious

scriptures giving a divine sanctity to chaturvarnya and caste system were man made. Chaturvarnya was the fabrication of Brahmins which, was added to the veda in the Post-vedic period. By this, he showed that religion was the source of power and with the support of religious doctrine Brahmins held sway over the common man.

Ambedker also refuted the theories of origin and growth of caste institution based on occupation, survival of tribal organisations etc; the rise of new belief; cross breeding; and migration. He very systematically analysed the caste system and found that inspite of a composite make up of the Hindu population, there was a deep cultural unity and that caste was a parcelling into bits of a larger cultural unity. He revealed that it was the Brahmin class which first formed itself into a caste i.e an endogamous group . The rest of Hindu population differentiated into a large number of castes by way of imitation and excommunication. Thus, he rejected the divine notion of the caste system which was in consistant with what he proved about the chaturvaanya system i.e. chaturvarnya was man made, fabricated with a aim to enslave a large section of human beings.

During the National Movement, Ambedker wanted to bring the Depressed class on an equal footing in every walk of life, in India. He wanted an authoritative expression of the real condition of the untouchables. He wanted the Depressed classes to fight against both Hindu social imperialism as well as British political imperialism simultaneously. Ambedker propounded a new thesis, that the untouchables were distinct and separate element in the national life of India. Separation of untouchables from main Hindu social body was marked by "Social Discrimination". Due to this fact they were entitled separate constitutional safeguards in the communal Award.

Contrary to this view, Gandhi and other congress leaders were against the political and social demands of the untouchables. To them, untouchables' problem was merely religious not social and political. Gandhi and other congress leaders like Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Nehru wanted Ambedker and the Depressed classes to surrender to them so that they could be used to suit their interests in the fight against British imperialism for India's political freedom. Ambedker opposed this move. Gandhi, however, became successful

in his Mission of making untouchables as dependent on the congress by getting the communal Award Transformed into the poona pact.

Ambedker was against the rule of one nation over another, oppression and exploitation of one community by another. He propounded his new two nation theory, that in India there were the ruling class and the subject class. He was also opposed to a new doctrine developed by Indian nationalism that majority had a divine right to rule the minorities according to the wishes of majority. To him, the untouchables were a minority as well as more than a minority. They were in the worst possible social malaise as compared to any other minority in India at that time. To him, freedom of country should have meant real freedom of the people. He visualised that swaraj would only make the caste Hindus more powerful. Therefore, under these circumstances, There was no way left for Ambedker but to have the rights of scheduled castes embodied in the constitution of free India, which they really deserved. Congress opposed this move. With a aim to get Ambedker opposed by the people of his own community Gandhi discovered a new Technique of playing untouchables against untouchables. For

this purpose he brought Jaggivanram in the Congress. Gandhi and other congress leaders were not honest in their dealing with the untouchables. Therefore Ambedker criticised them strongly.

It was an ardent desire of Ambedker to establish in India a true democracy, i.e. political democracy associated with social and economic democracy. To him, democracy based on Liberty, equality, fraternity, justice-social, political economic, and one man one value was a way of life. As the atmosphere in India was not congenial for the growth of democratic values, so he was not ready to place the untouchables under majority rule without any constitutional guarantee for the protection of their rights. He wanted structural changes in the socio-economic and political apparatus as demanded by the ideals of liberty equality, fraternity. This he could not achieve owing to the opposition by the congress. To him political power was a key to all social success. He was against the despotism. He visualised the emergence of domination of single party i.e. congress in the Indian national life. So he wanted an effective opposition. To him balance of power was necessary. He criticised Brahminism which according to him was the basic enemy of Democracy.

Ambedker wanted to make Hindu Society suitable for democratic values by giving it a new doctrinal basis, i.e. by organising it on the basis of absence of two evils inequality and the caste system. He, therefore advocated a total radical change in the outlook as the first step towards the establishment of a truly democratic society in India. Such a change he believed was necessary if India was to catchup with the advanced countries of the west.

Thus Ambedker was a true nationalist though not in the language of congress. From the point of view of humanity, he was a liberator and savior of untouchables. His role in Indian politics was that of a messiah for the suppressed humanity. The untouchables ; that of a revolutionary for the conservative Hindu community, that of dynamite for the British imperialism and that of an advocate for true democracy in India.

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